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terate, had to reconcile two conflicting objects,—to provide adequate relief for the real pauper, and to guard the property of the community from being preyed upon by the idle and profligate. Experience alone, whilst it ascertains the defects of the new law, can suggest the proper remedies.

We come then to consider the two main questions upon which the policy of the present Ministry is assailed; and first, that of Church property. The party who now direct the helm of Government contend that Parliament possesses a paramount authority over the property of the Church, and where any part of it is available, can apply it to secular purposes; and they profess to assume this as a fundamental principle in the reforms and changes which may be required in the fabric and institutions of the Church. On the other hand, their opponents, though they do not deny the omnipotence of Parliament in the abstract over property of all kinds, yet virtually limit it in respect to Church and Corporation property generally, by assimilating the latter to private property, which, in a certain sense, Parliament cannot meddle with. Did no other considerations intrude themselves, the point in dispute would hardly deserve discussion, because it is a question not of right, but of expediency; and it can hardly be denied, that if the good of the whole community imperatively demanded that the estate of one private gentleman should be taken from him and given to another, the paramount authority would not only be entitled, but bound to make the transfer. But the real issue in the question is considered by the Conservative party to be; whether or not there shall be an Established Church,—that is, a form of religion connected with and especially protected by the State. The great increase in the numbers of the various denominations of Dissenters throughout the country, who are united upon one point alone—hostility to the Established Church—raises apprehensions in the minds of many of its advocates, lest one concession should lead to many; lest the outworks of the Church being carried one after another, the citadel should fall, and the “voluntary principle,” though now disclaimed by the Government, should be forced upon it.

Even these apprehensions, however, would not probably excite a fierce resistance to the recognition of an abstract principle, were it not capable of being reduced to immediate experiment, and intended to be so employed, in a part of the empire, the circumstances of which, with reference to this question, are very peculiar. In Ireland, where the great bulk of the people are Roman Catholics, the Protestant Established Church is largely and unequally endowed from contributions exacted from the Catholic as well as the Protestant; the revenues of its dignitaries being mostly expended in England. Nothing seems more reasonable and equitable, than that, if the Roman Catholic population, who have a clergy of their own to support, be not exempted altogether from contribution to an establishment from whence they derive no advantage, and which is an avowed object of aversion to them, its revenues should be restricted to the narrowest limits consistent with the spiritual wants of the Protestant population, and the surplus be applied to purposes of general utility. If the Parliament, therefore, have

the right to deal with the possessions of the Church, and if this be a case in which reason and equity call for its interference, it follows that the policy which the Government has pursued in this matter, and which seems to be moderate in its extent and guarded in its character, cannot be objected to but upon such high doctrines as are now exploded.

But it must be confessed, that there are considerations applying to this question which tend greatly to qualify astonishment at the opposition which the Ministerial policy with respect to the Irish Church has met with from disinterested quarters. Catholicism with us, though now depressed, was once dominant; its votaries must, therefore, be presumed, from natural motives, to be desirous of recovering the ground they have lost; the priesthood have, in former times, and there is good reason to suppose that their character is not altered in this respect, aimed at exorbitant secular power, and a sway over the minds and actions of their followers utterly irreconcilable with the political and moral amelioration of the latter. These qualities, superadded to the intrinsic demerits of the Catholic creed in the eyes of a Protestant, render it highly impolitic to encourage Catholicism amongst such a population as that of Ireland; and it is contended that, to curtail the power and influence of the Protestant Church, and to alienate any part of its revenues for secular objects, would inevitably increase the power and influence of the Catholic clergy over their slavish followers, who would continue to be the passive instruments of selfish political agitators. Meanwhile, the progress of the Protestant faith in that country will be obstructed by the indirect discouragement of the Government and by the active hostility of its opponents; and the Dissenters and other enemies of the Church in England will be incited to renew their attacks upon the establishment, on pretexts which cannot well be resisted when once the inviolability of Church possessions is invaded.

Taking it for granted, however, that all these consequences will be the fruit of the projected reform of the Irish Church, which is conceding a great deal, they ought not to be an impediment to a measure which is both just and necessary. If every legislative act must be suspended or relinquished through fear of some remote evil consequences which may possibly flow from it, legislation must stand still, for no measure could be devised of which it might not be predicated, that it may or even will produce evil. It is one of the commonest axioms in logic, that you cannot argue against the use of a thing, because it may be abused. One of the special duties of a government is to watch and check the development of such pernicious fruits as the perverse ingenuity of man may gather from the purest schemes of policy. But whilst the prospect of possible evil should not retard a just and necessary measure, delay is often the cause of its hasty and injurious adoption. The pertinacious refusal of reasonable concession to the Catholics of Ireland, perhaps, precipitated their entire emancipation; repugnance to the correction of notorious abuses in our representative system led, as Mr. Huskisson predicted, to change upon a larger scale than had been ever demanded by reformers. In like manner, a too obstinate resistance to Irish

Church reform may only keep back the tide until it is strong enough to break down all barriers, and then the flood will be carried beyond the prudent line to which timely concession might have confined it.

On the subject of any organic changes in the Established Church, which would sever it from the State, the friends of the establishment are exempted from alarm by the positive declarations of the Ministers themselves, who disclaim all views of that kind. If it were to appear that a fair majority of the people—of the representatives and the represented—desired such a change, it could not be withstood; but sure we are, that it would be a “heavy blow” to religion itself. Many judicious and sensible Dissenters, whilst they complain of the hardship of being taxed for the support of the established clergy, have discernment enough to foresee the mischievous results of disconnecting the State altogether from a particular form of worship, and of dissolving an alliance which enlists habit and prejudice, those tyrants of the human mind, in the cause of religion and its duties. This is a matter, however, which is too grave and too extensive to be treated of as an incidental point in a political essay.

The Ministry has been most loudly and most effectively assailed, during the elections, upon the ground of their Irish policy, which is based upon the principle of conciliating the Catholic party. If it were demonstrably true, that the Government have virtually surrendered all their power and patronage in Ireland to Mr. O’Connell, and that this person is actuated by motives purely selfish, and intent upon objects hostile to the welfare of the empire, then, indeed, the present Ministers would deserve all the hard things said of them on this score, and have, in fact, betrayed their trust. But impartial men will look at the subject in a very different point of view, and however they may lament that Mr. O’Connell should possess a power too great for a subject safely to be entrusted with, they will confess that the course pursued by the Government is the only one which reason and experience show to be adequate to reduce that power, whilst its exercise is restricted within legal bounds. Mr. O’Connell’s present position is a standing reproach upon the past policy of Irish rule. But for the partial and exclusive principles hitherto acted upon by the Government of Ireland, he might have been distinguished only as a successful pleader at the Irish bar. If the gratitude of his countrymen has clothed Mr. O’Connell with a power and an influence of which the Government cannot divest him, and which he offers to place at their disposal, on conditions not inconsistent with the interests of the community, where is the baseness or treachery of employing him as an ally in the humane and politic work of tranquillizing a harassed country, and at the same time testing the sincerity of his views?

This summary notice of the principal topics of home policy which occupied the late Parliament, which have been mooted in election speeches, and which will be discussed in the new House of Commons, leads us to conclude that there will be an approximation of parties, which will be more favourable to the progress of public business than could be expected if they were so nicely balanced in point of numbers as the news-paper-tables repre-

sent. Supposing that the members of the new House of Commons were really divisible, as pretended, into two classes, "Ministerialists" and "Conservatives," the near equipoise of numbers on all great questions would be productive of infinite inconvenience. The accidental attendance of an additional one or two on either side, or the temporary absence from a division of a hungry member in the *salons* of the housekeeper, or of a sleepy one in the gallery, might affirm or negative a measure of vital importance.

Another circumstance which affords a good diagnostic of the character of the new House, is the exclusion of some members of the late House who entertained extreme and speculative opinions. It is unnecessary to name the individuals referred to; but it must have been observed, that their ambitious advocacy of peculiar and impracticable doctrines tended to *sectionize* the House, and materially to impede public business. Their exclusion, moreover, removes another obstacle to the coalition of the independent members who are nominally arranged on opposite sides.

From the composition of the new Parliament, therefore, which has been returned without unusual excitement amongst the constituency—from the principles of home policy avowed by the Ministers—and from past experience of the inconveniences attending a bare majority in the House of Commons, on one side, and a decided majority in the House of Lords, on the other—the opinion seems to gain ground, that there will be a coalition Ministry, to the formation of which there are but few real impediments; and the very guarded language of Lord Durham's letter favours the supposition that he will be the negotiator and umpire. These are, however, but random conjectures.

In speaking of the new Parliament, we must not overlook the statements which have been made by both parties of the extent to which, it is said, bribery and influence, or intimidation, have been carried in the late elections; because, if these statements be true, they would not only affect all conclusions drawn from the apparent equilibrium of parties, but would seem to render necessary some plan to counteract the evil. Nothing, indeed, is more common than to hear a losing candidate attribute his defeat to undue practices on the part of his opponent; it is a convenient salve wherewith to heal the wounds of self-esteem; but specific facts have been published, and the generality of the complaint is a sufficient reason for believing that it is not groundless. The remedy suggested is the "vote by ballot."

We candidly acknowledge that when the reform of our representative system took place—when "influence," which was defended, as a legitimate source of power, in the House of Commons, by Paley and others, was abolished, and when the elective franchise was so much extended as to include dependent and needy persons—secret voting appeared to us to be an essential part of the new measure; and this, it seems, was the opinion of some members of the Reform Cabinet. It wears very much the air of a mockery to give to certain classes of the population what is termed a "boon," which they cannot enjoy either to their own satisfaction or to the benefit

of the community. Experience has proved what an ordinary degree of discernment in human character would have suggested beforehand, that where interest and duty lead into different paths, a very large proportion of mankind cannot resist the fascinations of the former, especially where responsibility, the safeguard of all moral obligation, is imperfect. There are probably some electors who think they violate no moral principle in parting with their own vote for a consideration, positive or negative, present or future. A system of secret voting would obviously throw many obstacles in the way of such corrupt bargains, whilst it would protect the honest voter from being punished for doing right.

Many objections are urged against the scheme of secret voting, but there is one only which appears to us entitled to any weight. Our present representative system is founded upon the basis of universal responsibility; the representatives are responsible to the constituency, and the constituencies are, or ought to be, responsible to the non-electors and to the country. No man ought to be screened from responsibility who exercises any act on behalf of others as well as himself. The vote-by ballot, however, would put an end to all responsibility on the part of the constituencies. Were it clear that secret voting would effectually stop every species of bribery and unfair influence, the absence of accountability in the voters might be tolerated as a theoretical evil merely. But reflection will suggest a variety of expedients by which, with very little ingenuity, votes placed in a ballot-box might be purchased before-hand, or rewarded or punished afterwards. The same argument, in favour of the ballot, which is used in respect to electors, would apply, with less force it is true, to the representatives: why should they not vote in secret, if secret voting be so effectual a security against the operation of influence, as to neutralize the virtue of responsibility? There is scarcely a member in the house who and whose family connexions have not some interests which may be silently and secretly advanced or retarded by their votes, which influence would be as effectually checked by ballot-voting, as that of a wealthy customer over a petty tradesman who has a voice in a borough: yet would any one consent to exchange for secret voting in Parliament, the exposure of its members to that public scrutiny, which grows more searching every day, from the conviction that it is the only means by which men who are entrusted with public duties can be held to a faithful discharge of them? If a man has not that degree of independence or firmness, which will enable him to exercise his elective right boldly in the face of the world, he is as much incapacitated, virtually, as if he did not possess a legal qualification to vote. The ballot may relieve the fears of a few timid persons, but it will afford a specious and selfish independence only; it will enable a person to vote *as he pleases*, but it will not compel him to vote *as he ought*.

This is our only objection to that favourite panacea, the ballot. It is of sufficient weight, in our opinion, to overbalance the advantages attending that mode of voting; but we should, nevertheless, not be surprised to find

that the advocates of the ballot in the new House of Commons have greatly increased in numbers.

Upon the whole, we are of opinion that a crisis in public affairs, of no dangerous character, is approaching; that there will be a fusion of political parties and of their leaders, and that the work of legislation in the new Parliament will advance in the route of safe and constitutional reform.

MARQUESS WELLESLEY'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR: The truth of a somewhat hackneyed sentiment of a deep student of human nature—"There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune"—must be familiar to the mind of every one who has paid any attention to the events of his own life, or to the history of those around him. Nor is the application of the sentiment confined to individuals alone, for there is scarcely a nation which has risen to any degree of wealth or power, the annals of which do not exemplify this great truth. In modern times, we have a splendid evidence of this description before us, in the extraordinary empire established by Great Britain on the continent of Asia. Little more than half a century has been occupied in maturing that dominion from its infancy to its present extent and grandeur; and it is impossible to view this magnificent fabric without a desire to investigate the means by which it has been reared.

Limiting our view to finite causes only, it is evident that the concurrence of fortunate circumstances was improved and skilfully applied by a *few* of those eminent statesmen who successively held the reins of government in India. Among them the Marquess Wellesley stands pre-eminent; and although I have so lately addressed you on the despatches of that distinguished nobleman, the publication of the third and fourth volumes, which I have since seen, induces me to return to the subject, from an anxious desire to direct the public attention to these important documents.

The two preceding volumes embrace events of unquestionable interest, and display his Lordship's talents in an eminent degree; but the field for their exercise was comparatively limited, being confined to few objects, though in themselves demanding sagacity, judgment, and energy of purpose. It was reserved for these subsequent volumes to demonstrate the extent of those powers of mind which, under Providence, contributed to place our empire in India in a position of security and dignity it had never till then attained.

These volumes develop throughout a series of events of so singular a character, that it is difficult to carry to the mind of the European reader any thing like a correct idea of them—this difficulty arises from the peculiar character of the nation which figures so prominently in these pages. No community in Europe of either ancient or modern times presents any resemblance to that extraordinary people (the Maharattas) either in manners, customs, or the form of their government. From time immemorial, they have been considered a race of freebooters. Their predatory habits (so long as the Mohammedan Government remained in full vigour) were confined to contributions on travellers in some petty states; but from the date of the decline of the Mogul

empire, they extended their depredations to whole kingdoms; and have, since the death of Sevajee, the founder of their greatness, been considered the scourge of India. The conquests they achieved from the Moguls enabled a few of their leaders to form states of considerable power and military strength; and then again, from the obvious advantages of the arrangement, agreed to form a confederacy among themselves, with a nominal sovereign acknowledged as the legal head of the confederacy or empire. The chieftains composing this confederacy were the Peishwah (the first in rank and nominal head of the empire), the Rajah of Benares, Scindiah, and Holkar. Among a community of confederates, who were never scrupulous in robbing each other, in the absence of other game, any thing like order or subordination could hardly be expected to exist for any length of time; accordingly, we find that, unless occupied, as a body, in attacking, and levying contributions on, their rich neighbours, they were incessantly engaged in hostilities with each other. Whenever the person who exercised the office of peishwah happened to be a man of superior abilities and energy of character, the affairs of the empire were conducted with tolerable moderation and regularity; but the accession to that office of a man of moderate abilities or imbecility, was the signal for commotion and rebellion—sometimes one of the chieftains obtaining the ascendancy, sometimes another. In their contests for power, and the confusion necessarily arising from them, the territories of the Company and the Nizam were frequently disturbed, and occasionally plundered; it became an important object with the British governor to check these disorders without entering into hostilities, and the means most likely to accomplish that object appeared to be an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Peishwah, the chief of the confederacy. Repeated efforts had been made to induce the Peishwah to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the British Government, but from that inherent jealousy of our power entertained by every Asiatic state, that prince uniformly rejected every proposal of this kind. The urgent necessity, however, of such an alliance, became so evident, that Lord Wellesley determined to let no opportunity escape of effecting the object. It could not escape his judgment and foresight, that the commotions in the Maharatta empire, so long as they were permitted to continue, would constantly afford the most favourable opportunities to the government of France in carrying on its intrigues for the subversion of our power, either by introducing a military force in aid of one or other of the contending chiefs, or by French officers entering their service to form and discipline their troops; indeed, one of the chieftains, Dowlut Rao Scindiah, had already in his service a formidable army, under the command of M. Perron, a Frenchman, in the highest state of efficiency, and with a powerful artillery. The position of this force, on the most vulnerable part of our north-western frontier, rendered it particularly formidable, and its removal or destruction essentially necessary to our security. The influence which Scindiah derived from this force enabled him to acquire a dangerous ascendancy in the Maharatta councils; and he had, in fact, usurped the government of Poonah, and established himself in the capital, and thus virtually exercised an authority dangerous to the balance of power among the other confederate chieftains. It might have been expected, that the Peishwah, under the pressure of Scindiah's violence and tyrannical abuse of the power he had usurped, would naturally look to foreign aid for the recovery of his legal rights and power; and the British Government being the only power capable of affording such assistance, he applied for it, but under conditions which rendered it inadmissible. In the mean time, another competitor for the power which the Peishwah had lost appeared in the person of

Jeswant Rao Holkar, who, having deposed his brother, usurped the government; and as one act of injustice generally leads to others of a similar description, Holkar, who had assembled a large military force, determined to contend for the supremacy with his rival Scindiah, and marched his army for that purpose to Poonah, and here the interest of these despatches commences.

In whichever shape the question presented itself to his Lordship's mind, difficulties of no common description beset his path; to leave these turbulent characters to settle their differences among themselves would have ended in one of the parties acquiring a preponderance dangerous to our security; for, with the additional power obtained by the destruction of his rival, the successful chief would be tempted to measure his strength with the British Government, and thus bring on a struggle for our very existence, which must, even if we came out of the contest victorious, be attended with a heavy expense in treasure, and the loss of many valuable lives. On the other hand, justice as well as humanity dictated the necessity of supporting the legal authority of the Peishwah against his rebellious feudatories; and a subsidiary force, which would constitute the main support of his power, appeared to be the best calculated for securing to the British Government a beneficial influence in the Maharatta empire, and enabling it to preserve tranquillity by affording to the Peishwah the means of coercing his feudatories, and compelling them to obey his authority. We have abundant cause to rejoice, that in a crisis in which so many important consequences to our empire were involved, the national interests and character were placed under the guidance of a statesman eminently fitted to maintain both in their proud pre-eminence. The alternative most consistent with our national dignity was that which Lord Wellesley adopted—to throw the weight of the British power on the side of legitimate authority—and an opportunity soon presented itself, to carry that determination into effect. On the 25th October 1802, the combined armies of the Peishwah and Scindiah engaged the army of Holkar, near Poonah, which ended in the total defeat of the former, and the flight of the Peishwah; and it is a proud triumph for our national character, that the sovereign of a nation hostile to our power, when abandoned by his own subjects, sought and obtained, in the hour of distress and danger, a secure refuge in British honour and humanity.

The Peishwah (Bajee Rao), convinced, from the known treachery and violence of both his rebellious feudatories, that he could expect neither justice nor mercy at their hands, determined on resorting in earnest to the assistance of the British Government for recovering his throne and dominions; he accordingly, on the day of the battle, sent his minister to the British resident, desiring the establishment of a subsidiary force of six battalions, with their complement of artillery; expressing, at the same time, an earnest desire that a general defensive alliance should be carried into effect, at the earliest practicable period of time, between his Highness and the Hon. Company. And until measures could be matured for restoring him to the throne, he retired to the Island of Bassein, under the protection of a British force, where a treaty was concluded between him and Lieut. Col. Close, the resident, on the 31st December, and ratified by the Governor-general on the day he received it.

The comprehensive mind of Marquess Wellesley saw at once the inestimable advantages to be derived from this treaty, and he prepared the means for improving those advantages to their fullest extent. With all the energy of his character, in conformity to instructions, which he had with great foresight and judgment furnished to the subordinate presidencies, with a view to such a crisis occurring, a large force advanced towards Poonah, under the command of the

Hon. Major-general Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson. The Major-general, having arrived within the distance of a forced march from the city, received intelligence that the confederates meditated its destruction; he accordingly determined to move forward, and marching in the night with his cavalry, arrived on the morning of the 25th April at Poonah, which was saved from destruction by his timely protection.

The Peishwah, who had, after the treaty of Bassein was signed, retired to Bombay, now made arrangements for marching to Poonah, where he arrived on the 13th of May, and resumed his seat upon the musnud, amidst demonstrations of the greatest joy from his subjects, and under salutes of the army under the Hon. Major-general Wellesley.

It could not be expected, that either Scindiah, the Rajah of Berar, or Holkar, would view these transactions with indifference or with cordial satisfaction. The ascendancy in the councils of the Maharatta empire, which the British Government would necessarily assume by the presence of its subsidiary force at the capital, would at once put a stop to their extravagant and ambitious views, and diminish, in a great measure, their ability to continue those disturbances so often excited by their intrigues and contention for power. Accordingly, in direct contradiction to their repeated declaration, that the treaty concluded between the British Government and the Peishwah contained no stipulations injurious to their interests, Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, the two principal chieftains in the Maharatta empire, combined their armies, with the intention of subverting the treaty by force: and the subsequent conduct of these chieftains displays, in a remarkable degree, that intrigue and treachery so inherent in the Maharatta character. Although the treaty of Bassein not only contained no stipulation injurious to any chieftain, but guaranteed the just rights of all the members of the empire, Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar entered into an alliance for the purpose of commencing hostilities against the British Government. They assembled their armies on the frontier, but, until their measures were matured for the attack, they repeatedly professed their amicable intentions.

It has been much a subject of accusation against the Marquess Wellesley, that the acts of his government displayed a constant tendency to war and conquest; but no charge of this character ever received such ample refutation as the one in question has in these pages. Notwithstanding the repeated proofs Lord Wellesley had obtained of the hostile intentions of these chiefs, he addressed to each letters which are remarkable for forbearance and moderation. In the one to the Rajah of Berar (page 104), after enclosing a letter addressed by that chief to the minister of the Nizam, Lord Wellesley expostulates with him, on his treacherous conduct, in the following language: "It is my earnest desire to maintain the relations of amity and concord between you and the British Government, but the state of your military preparations and the intelligence of your march towards the territory of his highness the Nizam, have compelled me to assemble a considerable body of British forces on the frontier of your dominions, as a measure of necessary precaution. It will depend on your conduct, whether the ties of friendship between the two states shall remain inviolate, or shall be dissolved. My wish is to preserve peace; but I will not suffer the just rights of the British Government to be violated with impunity. You will attend to this friendly admonition, and hereafter you will receive with cordiality the communication which will be made to you by a respectable person, whom I propose to despatch to you, with the most explicit assurance of my regard and esteem." Here the olive branch is offered in a

spirit which cannot be misunderstood—it is not extorted by fear : the terms of dignified reproof in which it is conveyed, renders that supposition, impossible, and the only conclusion which the Rajah could draw from the letter was, that Lord Wellesley offered him peace in the true sincerity of amity and friendship. The next extract which may be quoted in proof of his Lordship's moderation, is one addressed to the Resident with Scindiah ; page 129, vol. iii.

You are already in possession of the instructions of the Governor-general for the eventual negotiations of the terms of a defensive alliance with Dowlut Rao Scindiah. It will be proper on this occasion to renew the Governor-general's propositions to Scindiah for that purpose, informing him that his Excellency is disposed either to admit him as a contracting party to the treaty of Bassein, or to conclude a separate subsidiary alliance with him, and stating to him the manifest advantages to the stability of his government, and to the prosperity of his affairs, which the proposed connexion is calculated to secure. But if the dictates of an erroneous policy should induce Scindiah to reject those proposals, you will assure him that the British Government will not be offended at his refusal. That he is at liberty to remain entirely unconnected with the British power, and that this Government will continue to maintain the relations of amity and peace, which have so long subsisted between the two states, and to abstain from any attempt to injure his rights or control his independence, unless the circumstances of his conduct should compel the British Government to pursue an opposite course of measures.

You will at the same time apprise Scindiah of the determined resolution of the Governor-general to resist with the full force and energy of the British power any attempt on his part, or on that of any other power or state, to obstruct the operation of the treaty of Bassein, or to injure the interests of the British Government or of its allies ; and that the formation of any confederacy, or the prosecution of any military operation, on the part of Scindiah, in opposition to the repeated remonstrances of the British Government, will compel the adoption of measures of precaution on our part on every boundary of Scindiah's dominion.

The policy of blending an offer of peace with a distinct and frank warning of being ready to visit any hostile act with prompt retaliation, evinces his Lordship's wisdom and thorough knowledge of the native character ; a simple profession of a desire to remain at peace, would have at once been construed into an admission of weakness, and very probably accelerated the commencement of hostilities. The course pursued by Lord Wellesley was that of a high and generous spirit ; and his straight-forward and manly course affords a gratifying contrast to the treachery, falsehood, and low arts, practised by these Asiatic chiefs. Those arts were, however, too flimsy to elude the penetrating sagacity of their antagonist ; for the Governor-general, though for a long time reluctant to credit the existence of conduct so abhorrent to his ideas of honour, was at length made sensible of the full extent of the confederacy which threatened his government, when proofs of the most decided character were produced, that the confederates had determined on hostilities the instant their preparations were completed, the Governor-general, with his usual powerful judgment, issued orders for carrying on operations upon a scale calculated to make a powerful impression on every point of the enemy's territories.

On looking back to the period of the war with Tippoo, and the difficulty which the Marquess Wellesley experienced in equipping a force adequate to that object, and comparing those preparations with the magnificent scale of operations embraced in his Lordship's instructions to Generals Lake and Wellesley on the occasion of the Maharatta campaign, the mind is irresistibly led to form an exalted idea of the extent to which the military strength and

resources of the empire had been improved in the short space of five years; nor is it possible to withhold from the noble Marquess the sole merit of these truly great results.

The force assembled by Lord Wellesley was fully commensurate with the object to be gained, and distributed with that judgment and skill which distinguished the political events of his administration. The principal armies were under the personal command of Lake and Wellesley. The former advanced to the neighbourhood of M. Perron's force, which he was to attack and destroy or disperse; the force under the command of the Hon. Major-general Wellesley was opposed to the combined armies of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar. Powerful detachments were stationed at convenient intervals under Colonels Stevenson, Montresor, and Murray; the whole amounting to 35,000 men. The war was commenced by the Hon. Major-general Wellesley, on the side of the Deccan, by the assault of the town of Ahmednugger, on the 6th August 1803, and on the 11th the fortress of that name surrendered to the Major-general. On the 29th, the Commander-in-chief opened the campaign, on the side of Hindoostan, by the successful attack of the force under M. Perron, stationed at Coel. One brilliant victory now succeeded another, with such astonishing rapidity, together with the capture of the enemy's numerous and important fortresses, that in the short space of four months, the confederates were glad to sue for peace on any terms. The negociations were conducted by the Hon. Major-general Wellesley; and it may, perhaps, be expedient in this place to adduce another proof of the Marquess Wellesley's moderation, and I may say, magnanimity. In his instructions to the Major General (page 508), in the event of terms of peace being solicited by the enemy, he distinctly declares, that "It would neither be just, humane, nor honourable, to insist upon the reduction of Scindiah's power to any extent unnecessary to secure the just objects of the war, together with the safety of the British power and its allies. The British Government will never deem any course of policy to be consistent with its wisdom and true interests, which is repugnant to the genuine dictates of justice, humanity, and honour. My duty requires me to employ every effort to reduce the power of the enemy within the bounds prescribed by the security of the interests committed to my charge, but it would be equally injurious to the glory and power of this Government, to prosecute war for the purpose of vengeance, and to urge the fall of a conquered enemy beyond the limits of our own safety and self-defence." These are not the sentiments of a mind bent on war and conquest for their own sakes; nor are they mere words of course, used for some temporary purposes; for they are strictly acted upon by the able negociator to whom they were addressed; and accordingly, the Hon. Major-general Wellesley, in the true spirit of these instructions, concluded a treaty of peace with the Rajah of Berar, on the 17th December, and with Dowlut Rao Scindiah on the 30th of the same month; in which he left those chieftains in a situation much more favourable than they had any right to expect, and certainly greater than they deserved, from the use they made of their victor's generosity; for, true to the genuine character of a Maharatta, only a few months elapsed before both confederates, Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, resumed their treacherous projects against that very power to whose magnanimity in the hour of victory they owed their existence as sovereign independent chieftains. One would suppose, from the dreadful lesson they had so lately received, that they would henceforward be particularly anxious to avoid the resentment of a power which they

had so severely felt; but on that, as well as on every subsequent occasion up to the present hour, each contemptible little despot who is clothed with a little brief power, has fancied in his turn, that he is a match for our gigantic power, owing to that forbearance which our Government in India has been compelled to shew to its enemies, which, though founded on the noblest principles, is constantly attributed to weakness, the only cause an Asiatic can possibly imagine for not crushing an enemy; hence arose that wide-spread treachery and combination, which displayed itself against the British power at the close of a war unexampled for its brilliant success. It might be converted into a very salutary lesson to our Indian statesmen of the present day, if they would but seriously pay it that attention it merits, and profit by it.

The Marquess Wellesley, in conformity with those leading principles of liberality and justice which had uniformly governed his public conduct, proceeded to settle the valuable territories acquired by the war, and their distribution among the allies of the British Government. Keeping strictly in view the principles of moderation and good faith, his Lordship bestowed very valuable possessions on the Peishwah and the Nizam, not as a matter of right, but as a gratuitous cession on the part of the British Government. His Lordship also confirmed the Rajahs of Bhurtpore and Machery in the possession of their territories; besides a considerable territory actually bestowed on the Ranah of Gohud: it being intended, by binding these chiefs to the Government by ties of gratitude, to constitute them barriers along our western frontier of the River Jumna. The sequel will prove the utter inutility of attempts to attach a native prince to our cause, by conferring benefits, however substantial, or delegating to his hands any degree of power intended to be exercised for our security or advantage; for these chiefs had scarcely been established in their dominions, when they commenced the most active intrigues to undermine that authority which had raised them to their undeserved eminence, and an opportunity soon presented itself to gratify their malignity.

Holkar had remained neuter during our contest with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, but not inactive; he availed himself of that neutrality to augment his forces, and prepared to take advantage of any favourable circumstances which the progress of hostilities might offer; he no doubt expected that the war would leave our strength so impaired, as to render us an easy conquest; but the issue of the war proving so unpropitious to his wishes, he, in the madness of disappointed ambition, determined on rushing to the contest; trusting, no doubt, to the good offices of our faithful allies, who would aid him clandestinely, if not openly. He attempted, before finally committing hostilities, to intimidate our Government into concessions of the most extravagant nature, by letters addressed to the Commander-in-chief and the Hon. Major General Wellesley, in which he insolently threatened to plunder, burn, and destroy our territories, unless those demands were complied with. The Commander-in-chief at once rejected them, and advanced with his army to chastise the insolent freebooter, who however avoided a general action, and finally retreated to Kutch, when General Lake left him, with a strong force under the command of the Hon. Colonel Monson, to watch his movements, until the return of the season for active operations should enable the Commander-in-chief to crush his power. The army was accordingly led back to cantonments, but it was not permitted to repose long; for the restless Holkar having, in the absence of General Lake, assembled an overwhelming force, in the month of August, fell upon Colonel Monson's detachment with the utmost

fury, and compelled that officer to retreat, under circumstances of the greatest distress, to Agra, where the remains of his force arrived on the 31st, with the loss of guns and baggage.

We have hitherto seen the Marquess Wellesley under a variety of circumstances which, though calculated to shake the firmest mind, were still such as did not demand any great degree of fortitude, for his measures were attended with uniform and brilliant success, even beyond his own sanguine expectations. We have now to view him under the first check his career had received : and as a man is best known by the manner of his meeting adversity, it is but justice to the noble Marquess to describe his reception of his first disaster in his own language—in his letter to the Commander-in-chief, after receiving the afflicting intelligence of Monson's retreat. The following extracts will be sufficient to shew how some men meet misfortunes, and how all ought to overcome disasters :

I admit no doubt in my mind of your complete and early triumph ; but it is necessary on all great occasions to look the utmost or rather imaginable degree of misfortune distinctly in front, and I wish you to consider, and to forward to me your opinions of the steps to be pursued by me, if, contrary to all human prospects, you should experience any difficulty in crushing this mischief.

It is not wise to despise any enemy ; but surely neither the resources nor any other circumstances belonging to our present enemy, can be compared to the advantages possessed by the enemy whom we have lately vanquished. Holkar indeed appears to me to possess no other advantage, when compared with our former enemy, than that he has succeeded in distressing a detachment of our native infantry, and that he has gained some time in the field. My only apprehension is, that he should be permitted to gain more time, or that he should find an occasion of attacking any other detached part of our force. I am convinced that you will not allow him to attack you, but that you will attack him with all practicable despatch. In that event I anticipate a renewal of the glory of this day.* The success of your noble triumphs of last year proceeded chiefly from your vigorous system of attack. In every war, the native states will always gain courage in proportion as we shall allow them to attack us, and I know that you will always bear this principle in mind, especially against such a power as Holkar. I hope it will be satisfactory to you, my dear Sir, to perceive that the only effect produced on my mind by this misfortune is an anxious solicitude to afford you every aid in remedying its consequences with every degree of despatch ; that I neither vent myself in idle complaints, nor feel vain regret, nor harbour useless resentment ; our joint efforts must be employed to avail ourselves of our real strength and established reputation, to suppress the growth of this upstart power, and to efface the degree of disgrace which has been cast upon our arms by a temporary and limited failure. May your uneasiness on this occasion be speedily converted into feelings more correspondent with the sentiments which this anniversary is calculated to inspire ; and may the month of September 1801 witness new triumphs of the British arms under your auspices, conformably to the glory of the same month in the last year.

These elevated sentiments were nobly responded to by the gallant veteran to whom they were addressed : he did, indeed, realize all the expectations entertained of his zeal and judgment ; and by prompt and vigorous measures, soon assembled the army, before which the power and resources of Holkar were in a short time so reduced, as to render his appearing again as a formidable enemy very improbable.

The irruption of Holkar opened another pleasing scene of the gratitude of Asiatic princes. The Rajah of Bhurtpore, who had been one of the many independent chieftains who solicited and obtained the protection of the British Government, and who, thereby, had been permanently released from the tribute he

* Alluding to the date of the letter, the anniversary of the battle of Delhi.

formerly paid to the Maharattas, by way of showing his sense of such favours, entered into a treacherous correspondence with Holkar, which was happily intercepted by the Commander-in-chief. One of the intercepted letters may be here inserted, as an amusing and curious specimen of native diplomacy. After recapitulating the contents of former letters, an answer to which had not been received, the writer goes on to state, "I will join Holkar: I am ready to join his victorious army. By the blessing of God, when his triumphant troops govern in this country, and we shall have a meeting, I can join him with near 100,000 horse and foot, and I will procure all the inhabitants, great and small, in Hindostan, to join." Runjeet Sing here promised much more than he ever intended, or could accomplish even with his best intentions; but the *animus* is evident; and it must be regretted, that the partial punishment inflicted on this wretch was attended with such a severe loss of the lives of many valuable men: his fort, Bhurtpore, was attacked by Lord Lake, who, though unsuccessful in his repeated assaults, so far intimidated the Rajah, that he was obliged to sue for and purchased peace by the payment of twenty lakhs of rupees.* The few months which elapsed between the siege of Bhurtpore and the close of Marquess Wellesley's government, were occupied in consolidating the advantages acquired to the Hon. Company by the results of his great and brilliant services; and on the 30th July 1805, he delivered over the reins of Government to the Marquess Cornwallis, after an administration of seven eventful years, during which he displayed all the highest qualities of a statesman. Crowded as his administration is with transactions of the highest importance, involving interests of the most complicated character, there is no period of our Indian history so remarkable as his administration has been for the uniform success attending his measures. Wherever danger appeared to menace our power, his sagacity perceived its approach, and with prompt decision repelled it, on every occasion which the constant vicissitudes of Indian politics presented for improving and consolidating our power; the means of accomplishing that object were always selected with judgment, and applied with vigour and despatch to their destined purposes. In selecting the instruments for carrying his masterly plans into effect, his tact in discriminating character was eminently conspicuous: among the number of those who were employed by his Lordship in high political and military trusts, not one ever disappointed his expectations; almost all who were honoured with his confidence, have since become distinguished in public life, and amply confirmed the accuracy of that judgment, which first perceived and appreciated their talents. It is no wonder then, that with such hands, and the wisdom, energy, and moral courage, which animated and directed them, the splendid results recorded in these interesting volumes should have been effected. It must be a proud triumph to his Lordship, one of the highest indeed of which an honourable mind is susceptible, that the ardent and undeviating devotion with which he applied his great talents to the true interests of his country, has been justly appreciated. Time, the severest and the only true test of merit, has also established the wisdom of his policy on a basis which never can be shaken. The experience, derived from the subsequent events of our Indian history, amply confirms the justice of his views; for so far from the extent of the reserved territories, acquired by the wars in which he was engaged, being more than ought to have been retained, it even proved

* The fort was subsequently attacked and carried by assault in January 1826, by the troops under Lord Combermere; it has since then been dismantled.

• INSCRIPTION ON THE BHITÁRÍ LÁT.

Dr. Mill, Principal of Bishop's College, has laid before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a Restoration and Translation of the Inscription, in ancient characters, on the Bhitárá Lát, or Pillar, in the Ghazipur district, with Critical and Historical Remarks. This valuable paper is published in the Journal of the Society for January, with a copy of the inscription in the original character; and we shall extract the English translation and remarks of Dr. Mill, whose learning, acuteness, and industry, applied to these inscriptions, have added so much to the barren field of Indian history :—

“ The discovery in the Ghazipur district, of a pillar with an inscription bearing the same royal names and genealogy as No. 2 on that of Allahabad, and continuing the series downward by three or four generations from Samudragupta, the principal subject of panegyric in both, might be expected to furnish valuable supplementary information on points which that monument left in obscurity. What were the seat and extent of the empire of this Gupta dynasty, and what was the precise place which the acts and events there described bore in the general history of Northern India, in the ages that followed the great eras of Vicramáditya and Sáliváhana,—are points on which we might hope to gain more light by a document of this length, than from any others which the progress of antiquarian discovery has yet produced.

“ The actual information obtained from this inscription, though not altogether destitute of new and interesting particulars relating to the state of India at the time of these kings, as I hope to shew in the few historical remarks subjoined to the reading and translation, is yet far from affording the desired satisfaction on the principal points just mentioned. Except the bare point of succession, and some adventures rather alluded to than related in verses of a somewhat obscure style of composition, the information of a directly historical nature extends little beyond what is obtained from the numismatic researches so ably and indefatigably conducted by our secretary. Whether a more complete transcript would much increase our information from this source, may also be doubted. Lieutenant Cunningham, to whose zeal and activity the inquirers into Indian antiquities are so deeply indebted, states that he made the transcript of this Bhitárá inscription under very serious disadvantages : but I am not disposed to attribute to any imperfections arising from this cause, the whole or even the greater part of the errors discoverable in the inscription as now exhibited. Some are certainly chargeable on the sculptor, who formed the letters on the pillar, unfaithfully representing the remembered or written archetype before him : and these errors are of sufficient magnitude to induce the probable belief, that others, occasioning more perplexity in the deciphering, may have arisen from the same source. From whatever source, however, they proceed, they are capable of being completely detected and amended in all the earlier part of the inscription : viz. the introduction, and the laudatory verses that follow ; but when the verse suddenly ceases or changes, and that in the midst of the stanza,—as it does about the middle of the fourteenth line on the pillar,—it is impossible to say how far errors of the same kind with those before found and corrected (such as this sudden cessation itself seems to indicate), may have produced the general unintelligibility of the document until we come to its last line, the nineteenth. With the exception of those four lines and a half, the rest, notwithstanding the indistinctness of many of the letters (indicated by the frequent double readings and occasional lacunæ in Lieutenant Cunningham's

pencil copy), and the more serious difficulty arising from the positive errors above-mentioned, may be interpreted with sufficient confidence."

Dr. Mill then proceeds to make good his charge against "an unknown artist more than twelve centuries dead," in detail, pointing out various examples of most evident error; and, after this explanation, he exhibits the text in the Nagari character, with an English version of those three-quarters of the inscription which are sufficiently intelligible, beginning with the seven lines of prose that declare the genealogy and the succession:

Translation.

Of the liberator of the greatest kings, incomparable on the earth,—by whom loads of forest timber are collected for the holocaustic service of Indra, Varuna, and Yama, by the completion of sacrifices bearing the flavour of the waters of all the four circumambient oceans,—whose glory reaches to the firmament,—who on every side bestows liberally as the golden-sided mountain (Meru),—by whom Meru himself might be borne aloft in the piercing talons of his mighty arm,—the great grandson of the great king Gupta,—grandson of the great king Ghatotkacha,—son of the great king, the sovereign of kings, Chandra-gupta,—maternal grandson of Liçchavi,—born of the great goddess-like Cunda-de'vi,—the great king, the sovereign of kings, Samudra-gupta,—

Of him, when the accepted son was pronounced to be the son of De'vi, daughter of Mahaditya, the incomparable worshipper of the supreme Bhagavat (Crishna), the great king, the sovereign of kings, Chandra-gupta,—then his son, before addicted to illiberality, and a man of great parsimony, was purified by the waters of destiny. Such was the excellent blessedness of the worshipper of the supreme Bhagavat, the great king, the sovereign of kings, Cunda-gupta, celebrated for his mildness of disposition, and of subdued passions united to accumulated fame,—a blessedness pervading even the forests and desert lands.

Verse.

Having well surmounted the calamities that oppressed the earth, the chief and unique hero of the Gupta race, of face like a lotus, displays the glory of conquest: even he, by name Scanda-gupta, of distinguished and spotless renown,—who in the spirit of his own dreadful deeds danced in the fierce dance (Siva-like after his vengeance for Sita's death).

Possessed of a clear insight into the profound wisdom of the Tantras, with a spirit of unceasing silence (on their incommunicable mysteries—and in accordance with their precept and discipline), mangling the flesh of the refractory in successive victories;—he by whom their challenge to battle being accepted and answered, forms a splendid spectacle in every quarter of the earth,—is declared even by alien princes to be one whose mind could not be shaken by sudden and unexpected calamity.

For afterwards by him to whom the keeping of his treasure was committed,—the boundary which was given as a sacred deposit, and worthy to be extended to the extremities of the earth—was treacherously taken away, and the prosperity of the family removed from it—(even by him the minister aforesaid), coveting the wealth of that family, having previously professed much attachment in words, but destitute of the light (of truth), and followed by calamitous defection.

Yet (having conquered) the land, his left foot was fixed there on a throne yet untrodden by mortals, and having obtained excellent room, and laid by his weapons, he reposed from war on his (inaccessible) mountain. His pure and noble exploits, the exploits of a man of unspotted fame, although long opposed by the kings of the excellent seven hills, are now sung even by them.

In every region did men surround that young prince, when his father had gone to heaven, as one who had attained most illustrious prosperity: whom his father's brother and the other chiefs did first (thus surround, hailing him) as their new sovereign, in the midst of the joy of conquest, with tears in their eyes.

May he who is like Crishna, still obeying his mother De'vakī, after his foes are vanquished, he of golden rays, with mercy protect this my design.

— — — — —
— — — — —

Whatever prince in this place perpetually worships this sacred image, is considered by Rudra (Siva) himself as one whose understanding is ennobled and rendered praiseworthy by this affectionate devotion, even in the land of Arha (Indra) and the other celestials.

“ Remarks on the above Inscription.

“ The parentage of Samudra-gupta, son of Chandra-gupta, which closed the Allahabad inscription, forms in nearly the same words the beginning of the present; and his panegyric, which pervaded the earlier monument, is the leading subject in the prose part of this. The first new fact is the designation of his son and successor, Chandra-gupta the second, whom it seemed most obvious on the first reading of the names to identify with the expected son and heir of the 18th line of the pillar of Allahabad, the offspring of Samudra-gupta and his principal queen, the daughter of the proud princess Sanhāricā. This identification, however, is removed by the terms of the inscription itself: this son does not succeed by right of primogeniture, but as peculiarly selected (*parigrihita*) on account of his eminent virtues from the rest of the family or families of the polygamist king, and is the offspring not of Sanhāricā's daughter, but of the daughter of a prince named Mahādaitya. The son and successor of Chandra-gupta II. is Cumāra-gupta, who is represented as having been a very unprincely character at the time of his father's adoption as heir to the throne; but having been disciplined by some unnamed fortune, becomes, on his own accession to the throne, an emulator of the mild virtues and the Vaishnava devotion of his parent. The next king is Scanda-gupta, who may be most probably supposed to be the son of his immediate predecessor, Cumāra-gupta: but on this point, the verse, which here takes the place of the more narrative prose, is unfortunately silent. We only hear of his distinguished fame as a warrior, and that his piety, congenial with his acts, does not take the same turn with that of his two nearest predecessors, of devotion to Vishnu the Preserver, but attached itself to the opposite system, now so prevalent in this part of India, the deep, mysterious, and sanguinary system of the *Tantras*. After the conquest and slaughter of many opposing kings, we hear of his eventual triumph over a more formidable enemy than all, a treacherous minister, who for a time succeeds in dispossessing him of his kingdom. After vanquishing, however, the rival monarchs of the seven hills, and resting peacefully on his laurels in his inaccessible mountain throne (localities which carry us away from the immediate vicinity of the Ganges, but whether towards the north or Central India we have no means of determining), this worthy worshipper of Siva and Durgā ascends to heaven: and his brother and the other chiefs, with mingled feelings of grief and affectionate allegiance, proclaim his young child the heir to his father's crown and conquests. This youth is described as obedient to the queen dowager his mother, as was Crishna to his mother De'vakī; but the part of the inscription that proceeds to speak of him is confused and unintelligible; neither does he appear to be once named; unless we conceive some letters of line 18 to give his name thus: Mahesa-prita-gupta (the Gupta, attached to Siva, or beloved by Siva). He is probably the Mahendra-gupta, whose name occurs in several of the newly discovered coins of this dynasty.

“ The royal family of the Guptas, therefore, as adapted to the time of this

Gupta, a Rāja of the Solar line.

Ghatotkacha, ditto ditto,

Licchavi,
whose daughter was

1. Chandra-gupta I.—♠—Cuma'ra-devi',
queen consort. Maha' daitya,
whose daughter was

2 Samudra-gupta, — ♦ — De'vi,
one of the queens of Samudra-gupta

3. Chandra-gupta II.

4. **Cuma'ra-gupta,**
whose son probably, was

5. Scanda-gupta,

6. A young prince (Mahendra-gupta ?)
a minor at the date of this inscription.

“ One remarkable fact, learnt solely from this inscription, is the prevalence, at the time of the Gupta dynasty, of the two opposite sectarian forms of later Hindu worship : that of the exclusive devotees of Vishnu, on the one hand, whose favourite authority is the celebrated poem (probably inserted among the *Purānas* by the comparatively recent grammarian Vopedeṇa) called the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* ; and that of the worshippers of Siva and his female energies, on the other, whose text-books are those singular compounds of Cabalistic mystery, licentiousness, and blood, the *Āgamas* or *Tantras*.—The princes Chandra-gupta and Kuṃsa’ra-gupta are expressly commemorated as belonging to the former class, and Scanda-gupta as an adherent of the latter. And here I must recall an observation that I hazarded when commenting on the Allahabad inscription,* that the worship of the Śaktis, with its existing mysteries and orgies, was most probably unknown in India at the date of that monument. The terms in which that species of devotion is spoken of about a century after, in the second† of the metrical stanzas in the present Bhitāri inscription, shews that the same system was even then dominant, and sufficiently powerful and seducing to enlist kings among its votaries. And while this (if I am correct in supposing the age of the Gupta dynasty to be somewhere between the first and ninth centuries of our era) may be among the earliest authentic notices of that mode of worshipping Bhairava and Cālī,—the mention of it at all furnishes an additional proof to my mind of the impossibility‡ of referring these monuments to the earlier age of Chandra-gupta Maurya, or that of Alexander the Great, and the century immediately following.

A far more plausible hypothesis is the identification of this Gupta dynasty, with that which is mentioned in the prophetic-historical part of the *Vishnu-Purāna* (Book iv. chap. 24), as arising in this precise tract of country, contemporaneously with other dynasties in different parts of India, during the turbulent period that followed the extinction of the last race of Indian sovereigns that reigned in Magadha, and the irruption of Sacæ and other foreign tribes from the north-west. The domiñion of the Guptas is there said to include the great city of Prayāga, on the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, where their principal monument is now found, as well as the yet more sacred city of

* See *As. Journ.*, vol. XXI, p. 141.

† See Note 1.

‡ See Note B.

Mathurā on² the latter river, and the less known names of Padmāvatī and Kānti-purī (probably near the site of our present Cawnpore): it is also described as extending down the Ganges to Magadha or Behar, where one Visva-sphatika (or Visva-sphurjī, of the old race of Magadha sovereigns) had extirpated the existing race of Xattriyas, and set up other low castes, together with Brāhmins, in their stead, as I read in two MS. copies* of the *Vishnu-Purāna*, the words of which are

In the country of Magadha, one named Visva-sphatika shall form and set up in the kingdom other castes, the Kaivarttas, Yadus, Pulindas, and Brāhmins: and thus having abolished all the races of Xattriyas, shall the nine Nagas, and in Padmāvatī, Kānti-purī, Mathurā, and on the Ganges from Prayāga, shall the Magadhas and the Guptas rule over the people belonging to Magadha.

"All these new sets of kings, with the Naishadhas in Calinga, &c. and the more barbarous races elsewhere, are represented in the *Purāna* as ferocious, rapacious, and tyrannical men, of little knowledge and no principle, whose rise and progress and fall are to be equally sudden and extraordinary, short-lived, and only nominal observers of religion. The people under their sway, and through the contact of foreign races, will gradually fall into that neglect of caste and other religious observances, that reference of all things to worldly riches and consequent impiety and unrighteousness, that will prepare the way for the tenth and last incarnation of Vishnu, as Kalki, to restore all things. Thus, soon after the account of their Guptas, close the prophetic announcements of Parāsara to Maitreya of what was to befall the world after him, and with them the 4th Book of the *Vishnu-Purāna*.

"It is true that, according to the chronology of the *Purāna*, as set down minutely in that chapter, we should have the commencement of the reign of these Guptas posterior to Sandracottas, and consequently to Alexander the Great, by $(137 + 112 + 45 + 456 + 1399 + 300 + 186 =)$ 2635 years,—and therefore as really future to us as to the prophetic Muni and his hearer. But setting aside all other considerations, it is only the four first of the seven component periods of this sum that will appear, on an attentive inspection of the *Purāna* itself, to be entitled to the least attention: viz. the spaces assigned respectively to the Maurya, the Sanga, the Kanva and Andhra dynasties of Hindu sovereigns in Magadha; of which the name of each individual king is set down, their several numbers 10, 10, 4, and 30 agreeing perfectly with the durations assigned to each race.† But the fifth and sixth periods of 1399 and 300 years have no such catalogue of kings accompanying them, but only a statement that in the former there should rule in succession seven kings of the Abbhra caste, ten Gardabhiras, sixteen Saka or Scythian kings, eight Yavana or Grecian, fourteen Tushāra, thirteen Munda, and eleven Mauna kings; and

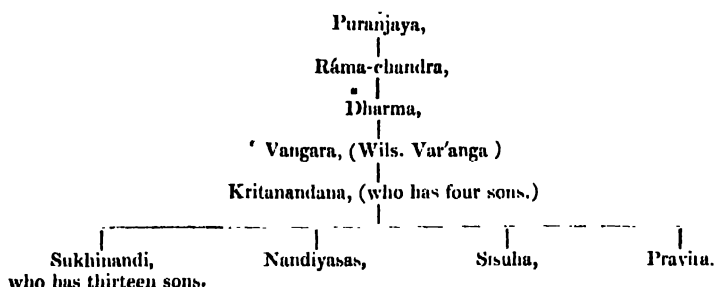
* The valuable English abstract and partial translation of this *Purāna* (as of the others) deposited in the Asiatic Society's Library, by Professor H. H. Wilson, is silent on the latter point—the association of the Guptas with Magadhas, and their dominion in Behar: relating their possession of those four cities in the Doab, Padmāvatī, Kānti-purī, Mathurā, and Prayāga, as altogether unconnected with the affairs of Magadha, and the extirpation of the Xattriyas from that country, with which they are distinctly blended in the Sanscrit passage as given above.

For the further testimony of the *Srinad-Bhāgavata*, see Note C.

† These may all be seen, as they stand in this and other *Purānas*, in p. 100 of Mr. J. Prinsep's *Useful Tables*. The accuracy of these lists is strongly confirmed by the collateral testimony of the Chinese travellers in India in the fifth century, whose relation is published in the London *Asiatic Journal* of July 1836. Their king of Kapila, Yue-gae, Beloved of the Moon, whose ambassador sent presents to China A.D. 488, is (not Chandrānanda, as the learned translator of that work suspected, but) Chandra-ari, the king immediately preceding Pulomarchis, the last of the Andhra dynasty at Magadha, who was reigning at this precise time. This removes the hope entertained by Mr. J. Prinsep (to whom I am indebted for the communication of this paper) and myself, that this might prove to be the Chandra-gupta of the inscription, and makes the latter posterior to him by probably three or four centuries.

in the latter period of three centuries, Paura and eleven other unnamed sovereigns. This enumeration, strongly indicative of the disturbed and semi-barbarous condition of affairs, which caused the suspension of all the ancient records,—and in which synchronous dynasties might easily be misstated as successive ones, and the sum of years readily palmed on the Hindu reader, to enhance the antiquity of the classical and heroic ages of the country,—is succeeded, in the last period immediately preceding the rise of the Guptas, by something more resembling the records of earlier times. As this list, occupying the seventh period above-mentioned of 186 years, has not yet been published (that of Hamilton in the corresponding period being somewhat different and much more confused), I will here set it down from my MS. of the *Vishnu-Purāna*.

Vindhya-sacti from Kilakila, who adopts the manners of the Yavanas, whose son is



"After whom came four Bahukas or Bactrians, three Puspanitras, thirteen Yadumitras, seven Mekalas; and in Kausala or Oude, nine Naishadhas.

"Thus the account of this dynasty, which Hamilton calls the Bahlic or Bactrian one, terminates in a confusion worse confounded than that from which it emerged. And this statement in the *Vishnu-Purāna* is immediately followed by the passage above quoted respecting the Magadhas and Guptas.

"Allowing, however, the least possible duration to the confused periods that followed the subversion of the Andhra dynasty in the middle of the fifth century after Christ, it is scarcely possible to fix the subjects of our present inquiry, the Guptas, higher than the age of Charlemagne in Europe, if we suppose them identical with the Guptas of the *Purāna*.

NOTE A.

"The insertion among the praises of the fifth king Scanda-gupta, of the epithet 'a mangler of the flesh of the refractory' (*avinama palasātā*), and that in close juxtaposition with the attributes of peculiar wisdom, and adherence to a mysterious system of Cabalistic theology, may appear surprising to persons who have either considered but slightly the genius and tendencies of idolatry, or are unacquainted with this peculiar form of it. To shew how perfectly natural is the juxtaposition in the present instance, I cannot give a more generally intelligible proof than in the picture drawn in the metaphysical drama *Prabodha-chandra-udaya*, of a votary of this same Tantric discipline, under the name of Sa-uma-siddhānta, i. e. says the commentator, a professor of the science of Siva Bhairava, in conjunction with Uma his consort. I will give a different version from that of Dr. Taylor, distinguishing prose and verse exactly as in the original: premising, that the ingenious author does not intend to give any exaggeration or caricature, but simply to exhibit a model of an existing

mode of belief and practice in his time; such as may be traced also, under certain modifications, even now, after centuries of Mahomedan and Christian rule have interfered with the free exercise of such homicidal worship."

IN ACT III.

To them, enter Soma-Siddhanta, in the guise of a Kápūlika (or man of skulls), with a sword in his hand.

Soma-Sid. (walking about.)

With goodly necklace deck'd of bones of men,
Haunting the tombs, from cups of human skull
Eating and quaffing,—ever I behold
With eyes that Meditation's salve hath clear'd,
The world of diverse jarring elements
Composed, but still all one with the Supreme.

Buddhist. This man professes the rule of a Kápūlika. I will ask him what it is.—
(*Going up to him.*) O, ho! you with the bone and skull necklace, what are your notions of happiness and salvation?

Soma-Sid. Wretch of a Buddhist! Well, hear what is our religion

With flesh of men, with brain and fat well smen'd,
We make our grim burnt-offering, break our fast
From cups of holy Brāhman's skull, - and ever
With gurgling drops of blood that plenteous stream
From hard throats quickly cut, by us is worshipp'd,
With human offerings meet, our God, dread Bhairava.

Brāhman Mendicant, (stopping his ears.) Buddhist, Buddhist, what think you of this? O horrible discipline!

Buddhist. Sacred Arhata! some awful sinner has surely deceived that man.

Soma-Sid. (in a rage.) Ah!—sinner that thou art,—vildest of heretics, with thy shaven crown, drest like the lowest outcasts, uncombed one, away with thee! Is not the blessed husband of Bhavani the sole cause of the creation, preservation, and destruction of the fourteen worlds, and his power established by the fullest demonstration of the Védant? Let us yet shew even you the magnificence of this religion.

I call at will the best of gods, great Hari,
And Hara's self and Brahma,—I restrain
With my sole voice the course of stars, that wander
In heaven's bright vault; the earth with all its load
Of mountains, fields and cities, I at will
Reduce once more to water—and behold
I drink it up.

Buddhist. Alas! poor Kápūlika, this is just what I said. You have been deceived by some juggler, spreading out false images before you.

Soma-Sid. What, again, thou sinner! Dost thou dare to call the great Mahesvara a juggler? This thy malignity must not be forgiven. Lo, therefore,

With foaming floods of gore that gush amain
From throat well severed, with this sabre's edge,
I make my sacrifice to him that calls
With beat of drum the hosts of creatures after him,—
Dread Siva—and with these rich ruddy streams
Delight his consort well, Bhavani.

(*Draws his sword.*)

[How the hand of the Tantric zealot is arrested from smiting the unfortunate Buddhist,—how he then enters on a psychological defence of his opinions, how he is then joined by Sraddhá (or Faith!), in the character of a Kapalini, who by her blandishments leads both the Brāhman mendicant and the Buddhist to deport themselves like Tantrists,—and how they all then join Soma-Siddhanta in a meditative dance;—all this and other wonders may be found by the curious in the drama above cited.]

NOTE B.

"In once more expressing the opinion, that the Gupta dynasty of our present monuments is posterior to the Christian era, I am by no means insensible to the new light that Mr. Turnour has thrown on the history of Sandracottus in the extracts he has given from a learned commentary on the *Mahá-wanso*, pp. lxxi—lxxxii of his very interesting preface to that great historical work.* That some of my objections to the identity of the two Chandraguptas are removed, or at least greatly weakened, I freely admit: there certainly appears ancient Buddhist authority (for such is apparently the *Atta-kathá* or *Astata-kathá* of the *Uttara-vihára* priests alleged by the commentator) for making the Mauryas a branch of the Solar race; utterly inadmissible as is the etymology assigned for that name in the *Tiká* (p. lxxvi), as well as for the name of Sisunāga, ancestor of the Nandas, (pp. lxxii. lxxiii). It is also very remarkable, in relation to this subject, that the latter prince is there represented as the son of a Liççhavi Rája, that being apparently the name of a distinguished family in Magadha: Liççhavi being also the name, in the inscriptions of Allahabad and Bhūtārī, of the father-in-law of our Chundra-gupta I., and maternal grandfather of Samudra-gupta. Nevertheless, there still appear to me insurmountable objections to identifying Samudra-gupta with Vindu-sára, the son and successor of Chandra-gupta Maurya on the Magadha throne; while a still more evident impossibility is now added of identifying his son, the Vaishnava Chandra-gupta II. of our present monument, with Asoca, son of Vindusára, the zealous adherent and propagator of Buddhism, not only in his own dominions of Magadha, but the north, east, and south, as far as Ceylon. It is needless to pursue the discrepancy of the genealogies further: the Vaishnava Cumára-gupta and the Saivya and Saktya worshipper, Scanda-gupta, have nothing in common with the Buddhist descendants and successors of Dharmasoca. Is it not also very possible, that with a view to exalt the immediate ancestry of that most revered prince, the priests of the favoured religion may have introduced this account of the Moriya family, as an offspring of the Solar race,—so discrepant from that which other Indian accounts, as well as Greek and Roman, give of its origin? That the Buddhist priests, notwithstanding their hostility to caste, are not insensible to considerations of this kind, is evident from the care with which, in the *Mahá-wanso* and elsewhere, they inculcate the undoubted royal descent of Gautama Buddha.

NOTE C.

"The passage quoted from the *Vishnu-Parána* seems to have been somewhat differently read by the more modern author of the *Srímád-Bhágavata*, who, here as elsewhere, is apparently only transferring into his own more polished and elaborate verse, the records found in the older Puránic legends. By him the term *Gupta*, instead of being a proper name, is made an epithet of the *earth*, as ruled or *protected* (for so the scholiast Sridhara has explained it), by the Visva-sphatika above mentioned, who is here called Visva-sphurji. The close agreement, as well as occasional discrepancy, of the two authorities, will be easily seen from the following extract (*Bhágavata*, Book xii. chap. 1.):

Visva-sphurji, another Puranjaya (i. e. says the scholiast, the best of the descendants of Puranjaya or Ripunjaya, who was king of Magadha, B.C. 900), shall create new barbarian castes, the Pulindas, Yadus, and Madras. This ill-minded warrior shall make the greatest part of his subjects to be un-bráhmancial (or lower than sudras);

* See *Asiat. Journ.* last Vol. p. 180.

and having exterminated the Xattriyas, he shall, in the city of Padmāvati, and on the Ganges, as far as Prayāga, derive tribute from the *protected* earth.

“The words अनुगंगासाप्रयाग are explained here by the scholiast to describe the situation of the king's metropolis, Padmāvati, as being situated in the Ganges *above* Prayāga, or, as he words it, between Allahabad and Haridvár. But this explanation is quite inapplicable to the same words as they stand in the *Vishnu-Purāna*, where they immediately follow the mention of Mathurā, and where the mention of Magadha following induces me to interpret the words ‘on the Ganges *below* Prayāga,’ or between Allahabad and the sea.”

HISTORICAL TALES OF THE RAJPOOTS.

NO. I.—STORY OF SOOJOH CHOHAN.

POONJAH RAWUL ruled in Dongerpoor, and Beer Sing, of Bunkara, a chief of the Chohan tribe, was the prime minister. On his and his son Soojo'h's sines the seventeen hundred villages of Bhagur rested.

Poonjah Rawul was sent for by the Rana (of Mēwar), and resided at Oodipoor. On the *teej* of the rains, a feast was prepared by Poonjah for his chiefs; the opium and the cup were passing round, when the rain set in in torrents. The peacocks and kohil sent their notes through the grove, and Peehiba sung sweetly; the lightnings were playing, and from the hill the waters rushed down in fearful torrents. Poonjah was seated in the balcony, and the shields of his young Rajpoots rubbed against each other. The lightnings darted and the thunder rolled, when his chiefs entreated Poonjah to quit his exposed situation; but he replied, “Who would resign the delight of hearing the torrent's rain and seeing lightnings glare, to immure himself in confined apartments below?” At this moment, a flash struck the balcony, broke it, and entered the edifice; several Rajpoots and many females were killed. Poonjah drew his dagger, and struck at the lightning, which withdrew in fear to the cloud whence it came. The dagger was burnt to a cinder. Such a hero was Poonjah, who contended even with the forked lightning! Not long after, he returned to his native state.

The royal bard, making a tour of the states, arrived at Dongerpoor, after laying Kotah, Boondí, and other princes, under contribution. He arrived while Poonjah was in durbar; the sons of a thousand Rajpoots filled the hall; he was seated in the sanctuary of shields, while from the lips of the bard the story was flowing. At such a time the bhāt of the king gave his blessing to the Rawul, who rose only slightly from his musnud. The royal bard felt the indignity, as he inwardly said, “While the princes of Marwar and Amber shake the folds of their garments when I enter their presence, how dare this petty prince refuse the *tazem*?”

The bard had twenty-five horse in his train, with camels for his baggage, his garments heavy with gold and pearls, the gifts of princes. Six months elapsed, and the bard still remained at Poonjah's court, where his means decreased. Daily he went to Soojo'h's abode, and spake ill of his lord;

but the Chohan said, "This is not the place to detract from my prince, whose attendants will hear and repeat." Soojoh added, he would himself give him 5,000 or 10,000 rupees and his leave; but the bard, proud of royal favour, continued his abuse, which was overheard by one of Poonjah's servants, who repeated it to the Rawul. Poonjah, in contempt, sent the bard a tatoon, worth fifty rupees, and four pieces of coarse cloth, with fifty rupees for expenses, and desired him to depart. The bard, burning with rage, having already expended thousands, and being thus dismissed, vented his mortification in the grossest abuse. The prince, to whom all was reported, gave orders that he should be allowed to reach the frontier, and there that he should be plundered, intending afterwards to restore the property and reward him. Five or six hundred Bheels assembled at the summons. The bard had arrived at a spot which was inviting; a fine stream rushed through a grove vocal with birds, and he let his camels loose to feed, whilst he took his *umt*. The Bheels came up, and fell on his camels; the bard, sword in hand, with his party, hastened to the rescue, but all were put to death: the plundered property was sent to the Rawul.

The intelligence afflicted Poonjah, for his name would be blackened in the eyes of men, stained with the murder of a bhât. The reflection preyed on his mind; the third day he was seized with disease; he returned the property to the bhât's family; but notwithstanding this, and the advice of his physicians, all was in vain: he made over the state to his son, and set out on a pilgrimage.

He went to Bindrabun, and there the chief of the temple advised him to expiate his crime by erecting a shrine to the Deity in his city. He did so, and all the chiefs and princes around, Kotah, Boondi, Rampoorah, &c., flocked to see the god enshrined. The Rana, involved with the king, could not go, and desired his son, Juggut Sing, to attend his uncle's wishes. But the young prince would have excused himself: "You know," said he, "my temper, and you know his; it is not advisable we should ever be together." But the Rana replied, "What difference is there between me and the Rawuljee?" The prince went, and the Rawul met him at some distance, and conducted him to the city.

The Rawuljee feasted all his illustrious guests, their followers, horses, and cattle; daily the horse was burnt (*aswamedha*) before the thakoor, who now, having received assistance from the divinity, was ready for the enshrinement. When the happy moment arrived, it was announced to all the chiefs. The Oodipoor prince replied he was coming, but put it off from time to time, till the hour and minute had arrived, when the chiefs told the Rawul not to wait, that the prince would be in time for the feast if not for the prayers. The Rawul saw it would lead to strife, but he could not delay the *mahoort*, which would be an insult to all his guests; and the thakoor was enshrined.

The intelligence was carried to the prince of Oodipoor, who, quoting a proverb, observed, "The king came, and you shut him up in the treasury; this Rawul makes no account of me; and before the assembled princes has

made light of me." He assembled his followers, and ordered the drums to sound for the route to Oodipoor. The Saloombra chief told him it was his own fault; but the prince said, the work was his, and he had laid a plan to make the tribe cut each other's throats; "though you think me," he added, "a mere boy." The chief said nothing.

His drums were heard; when Poonjah said to his chief, "Either you or I must go and calm this piece of fire by explanation." Soojoh would have evaded the embassy, saying, "You know me, and you know your own child." He prevailed upon him, however, to precede him, and off he went; he reached the Gyl Sagur lake, when he overtook the prince, saying, the Rawuljee was following on foot, and begging him to check his horse. The imperious prince insultingly said, "Chohan, sends he first; you see your own destiny, and then you come sneaking on foot." The Chohan entreated him to forgive their faults, and got the Saloombra chief to intercede; but the young prince only became more imperious and haughty. "Now," said the prince, "when their heads are about to be split, this Chohan comes fawning like a dog." Soojoh could bear it no longer, and said, that to break their heads would require better men than either he or his servant. The prince in a rage replied, "By Ekling-jee! the day I sit upon the gadi, Bagur shall pay for it; then look to yourself." "The sooner the better," replied the Chohan; "and by Eklinga, if ever your horse's hoof touches so much of our land as your spear's point will cover, my name is not Soojoh."

The prince reached Oodipoor, threw his turban on the ground at his father's feet, and begged his aid to revenge his quarrel. The Rana soothed his son, and talked to him of his folly, and for the present all was hushed.

Shortly after, the Rawul set out on a fresh pilgrimage to Dwarica, with Soojoh, and three hundred of his horse besides his own. At Noanuggur, they had halted from the heat, and dinner was getting ready; the Rajpoots had bathed, eaten, taken their kusoomba, were "red" and "happy," each with his wet *kookomburee* clothes streaming over his shoulders like a banner.* It was towards evening when they moved; the Dole Naguara struck, which reached the Jain in Noanuggur, who asked, "Who dared do this under the city-walls?" He prepared his army, five thousand horses in quilted mail; and commanded that the strangers should not escape alive. A messenger told Poonjah that the Jain was coming to attack him. Poonjah observed, "Brother Soojoh, we have got into a pretty scrape with this Jain;" but the Chohan said, it was the most lucky thing in the world, for should he be knocked on the head whilst going on pilgrimage, what better fate could be desired? We will take the throne of the sun."

Talking thus, they beheld the Jain's troops; the points of their lances were seen shining through the dust, like the lightnings from the black cloud. Poonjah said, "Let us tighten our girths, as we are likely to have hard work;" but Soojoh answered, that the horsekeepers were in the rear. "What!" said the other; "a Rajpoot's son, and not tighten his own

* The *di* shrub root, wetted, and turbans and daputies dried and warm, constitute the delight of the Rajpoot, especially when half seas over.

girth?" and Soojoh hastened to do it himself. A charun spied Soojoh, who pulled so tight, that his horse bounded off all fours, and he directed the Jain rao to look at him, saying, "It does not become you to attack such noble-looking strangers without inquiry." The bard was sent as a herald. The charun came to Soojoh: "Oh, resemblance of Urjoon," he exclaimed, "the god of war himself, whence come and whither go you?" Ruttun, the Chaorah, kowas of Soojoh, replied, that it was the brother of the Rana of Oodipoor, Poonjah of Dongerpoor. But the bard was most struck with the Chohan, and determined to know who he was; "the son of Beer Sing, the support of the seventeen hundred of Bagur."

The charun said it was necessary they should pay *googri* for a safe passage. Soojoh held out an arrow, "As much of this *googri* as you wish," said he. "We go on pilgrimage; if by the edge of the sword we reach it, well; and the sun of the Hindus will revenge us. Go," added he, "to your master, and 'let us see your hands' if you get alive to your horses; I'll promise you *googri*." The charun reported to the Jain who the strangers were, and warned him of the feud he would involve himself in; but the Jain swore he would have his *googri*; upon which the bard told him it would be in arrows then.

The Jain now thought it would be better to feast than to fight them, and sent the charun again with an invitation. Poonjah advanced, and the Jain begged them to come to his town next day, and partake of a banquet. The Rawul promised to do so on his return, and to enter in strict intimacy with him. He worshipped, and the Jain gave him a feast on the top of Girnar. The bard sung the *bid* of Soojoh, who took off a bracelet worth Rs. 3,000, and bestowed it on him.

They continued their journey to their native land; the Rawul had married the daughter of the Chaori prince, whose town was now in the route of his return. He was anxious to see her, and said to Soojoh, "Brother, go and bring the Chaori-jee;" but he received no reply. Thrice he spake, but to no purpose. In anger, he asked him if he was deaf. "What!" returned the Chohan, "do you take me for a woman, that I am to be sent on women's errands?" He beat his drums, and marched to Dongerpoor, when the kooer advanced to meet him; but he would not enter Dongerpoor, but went on to Banswarra, whose prince gave the village of Molah, and said the whole state was his. Here Soojoh remained. A charun arrived about this time, with whom he was conversing, when the barber came to shave him. Looking at the glass, he spied a white hair. "Old age," said he, "is advancing, and my engagement with Juggut Sing is yet unfulfilled!" When the charun repeated a verse:

*Súth gya Seesodia,
Chalces a Chohan,
Kennaj a Dhola kea,
Moogay ke ruhea mán.**

* At sixty the Seesodias,
At forty the Chohans,
With white hairs the Rahtores
Their port and bearing are gone

Soojoh heard it, and it determined him. "Should age reduce my courage, and prevent me from redeeming my promise, better to die at once." He sent for water, and made *sunktuff* of the remainder of his exertions beyond forty. The Rawul heard—his wife being sister to Soojoh, who had a great affection for him—she came and demanded ten years in addition to his vow; but he struck off five, and made thirty-five the period.

He sent his eldest son to Buckera, and his youngest to Molah, and their descendants still serve those princes, and are "Bar kowars of Bhagul." Soojoh demanded his leave; the Rawul wished to dissuade him, but in vain; and merely begged a village for the charun. He called all his retainers, gave a feast, told them to obey his son, now their master, and bid God bless them!

In the morning, he wrote a letter to the Rana, saying, "You are the sun of the Hindus, the prince of princes; I a poor Rajpoot. I have quitted Dongerpoor. Recollect your promise, made to me on the banks of the Gyl Sagur." When he read it, the Rana said, "Thus Chohan has not forgot the old business;" and with his own hand he wrote to Soojoh: "You are a brave Rajpoot; I shall require your valour against the king; why recollect the foolish words I shook in haste in my youth? I am now the lord of ten thousand villages, and have a feud with the king: do you take me for a madman, to slay you at such a period? I preserve you as my friend for my safeguard and use." But Soojoh replied, he was getting old, and if his speech was not made good ere he died, his name would descend with scorn. The Rana was deeply afflicted.

He took leave of his sons and relations, returned to the frontier, and, to provoke the Rana, committed great ravages in Mewar; hands and legs were daily shown, tied in bamboos, to the Rana, who could no longer spare his valiant foe. The Rana collected his troops, and marched to the border. "Alas!" said he, "that I must destroy such a hero as Soojoh!" On the day of his arrival, he sent his message to the Rana: that was on the ninth, and he wished the tenth and eleventh, being the *birt*, to pass, and asked that the battle might take place on the twelfth. The Rana complied, and would have been happy even then to have forgiven all his faults. Soojoh addressed his Rajpoots: "This is no dancing business, no sweetmeat entertainment. Go to my son. Bagur now rests on his arms, while I prepare for an illustrious death. By Sambree Dun, this is a happy day! Whoever desires to die with me, let him only stay." Seventy-two of the five hundred remained. "We'll beg with you—we'll rule with you—we'll die with you," said they. A fountain was filled with saffron; their robes were immersed and dyed in it.

On the borders was a small village, where dwelt a charun, whose daughter had the gift of composing excellent songs. Soojoh said to her, "To-morrow I die; two words for a Rajpoot ere he departs." She promised compliance after dinner. On the eleventh he ate, prayed, and clad himself, struck the drum, then the charuni pronounced his *birt*, and he was happy.

The Rana saw him coming. He said to Kemraj charun, "(Soojoh will fly, and we shall take Bagur.)"

Towards the south, a cloud of dust was observed towards morning; it was watched, being supposed to be the cattle driving to pasture, till at last the spears' points were seen shining through the dust. The Rana sent for the Bunawoh and Shahpoor rajas, the Rao of Saloombra, of Sadru, and Panoora. "Look," said he, "at the noble Chohan, who dare even meet me in arms; let no gun or matchlock be opened on them; let it be a battle of faith and the sword alone, nor let a Mooslem engage in it." Then five chiefs were ordered to charge; they did so with an immense body of horse; but Soojoh took post in the border stream, and not one could cross. The seventy-two lions charged in turn; they made cowards of hundreds, and the Rana bit his fingers with rage. They slew seventeen hundred of the five thousand who went to the attack. They searched the field for the Chohan, but he was not found. The Rana said, "Can Soojoh have returned to Dongerpoor?" But his own bard replied, "Who ever saw Soojoh's back?" And the Rana commanded him to search himself. The Saloombra rao and Khemraj searched the field, and entered the stream, filled with killed and wounded. Here sitting in the stream he was found, at the foot of a tree, resting on his sword, reeling from loss of blood, and making the *pind** on his thighs, of sand. His head was swimming. The old charun knew and saluted him, "Father, father." The wounded hero had sense enough left to recognise the old charun's voice. He rose, and tottered to the old bard, who blessed his dying hour with this *birt*:

Soojoh kul end salaam
 Bhagohi gul bhoola nuhyn
 Kud bhoola aona kam
 Bagur bhilta beer tunno
 Gollee chunder, Bhurlurre,
 Kya kuj, feerea
 Tojim Soojoh beer tun
 Moouj Obureah
 Tun takuree turée
 Girpoor jaya gruhyā nuhyn
 Soojra Dhumas soncha
 Brim mund'h lega beer tunna.

Soojoh forgot not obeisance to the bard, though his soul was escaping from his wounded frame; how could the warrior consent to give up his existence when the safety of Bagur was threatened? Gopeechund and Bhurterré wandered through the world to obtain immortality in this world; they failed in what you, son of Beer, have obtained. You held and preserved the scales of battle, and Girpoor's safety is secured; for when, Soojoh, you heard the tumultuous rush of war, ere then your soul mounted to heaven.

Thus did Soojoh, the descendant of Pirthi Raj, keep good his word, that not a spear's point of land should his foe have in Bagur, while he lived. He received Indraoput on the banks of the black stream (*Sham Nudda*), on the Chuppur side.

* Offering to the infernal gods.

After this the Rana marched to take *peshcush* from Banswarra. The news reached the mother of the young son at Morah. Doorgun Sing, the younger brother of Soojoh, was kept manacled in a room, being of a mad temper; and her child was but nine. To revenge his father, she dressed him in the garments of death, and called her followers to carry their young lord to defend the lands of Bagur, "for he on whose shoulders it rested is gone, and now it is your turn. The tiger is dead, and the cub must follow." The mad Doorgun overheard, in his confinement, her distress. He was restored to his senses. He called for his arms: "I am not mad," said he; "I'll save the child." The report was made to her. The door opened to the madman. He called for the barber; she brought arms for her lord's brother, and sent him to defend the pass. With 250 Rajpoots he departed. Two thousand of the Rana's troops filled the pass with their dead bodies; and Doorgun, the madman, finished his life in the arms of victory.

Such were the descendants of the hero Pirthi Raj, whose descendants still have to defend the passes to Bagur.

THE MALAY EMPIRE.

ACCORDING to Malayan tradition, the world was, from a very early period, divided into three great empires, among which Mahomedan writers give precedence to that of *Rûm*: the empire of *Chin*, or China, holds the second place; and that of *Pulo mas*, the golden island, or empire of *Menangkâbowe*, the third. This last is situated in the island of *Semut-rama*, or Sumatra. From it the Malays trace their origin, their laws civil and criminal, their forms of government, state etiquette, &c.; also rules for the division of lands by boundary marks, and the classification of the people into tribes or *Sikûs*. This empire is absurdly alleged by Mahomedans to have been founded by a descendant of Alexander the Great. It flourished during a considerable time in great splendour: the religious veneration in which it is held to the present day by Malays, and its ancient local remains, certainly indicate a high comparative state of former civilization.

Emigration, the natural result of increased population and prosperity, took place during the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, and probably at a much earlier period, not only to various places on the east and west coasts of Sumatra, but also to the island of *Singapûra* and the extremity of the Malay peninsula, "*Ujong Tannah*." Thence expelled by the invaders from *Majapahit* (A. H. 650), the settlers proceeded, after various vicissitudes, to Malacca, where they finally settled and founded a city (A. H. 673), afterwards famed as the wealthy metropolis of the spicy east, and now sunk into insignificance.—*Lieut. Newbold, Madras Journ. of Lit. &c. for October.*

ON THE NAMES OF BOOKS IN THE BHARATA AND RAMAYANAM.

THE Maha Bharat and Ramayan, being celebrated Sanscrit poems, are divided into portions, each of which has a name instead of a number; just as the third book of the Iliad was called by the Greeks "The Bravery of Diomedes," or as we know books of the Bible merely by the title, without noticing the order in which they stand, or specifying that they belong to the Scriptures. Thus we frequently meet with a quotation from "The Aranya Parvam," which is the title of the third book of the Maha Bharat; or a volume occurs, labelled "Aranya Canda," which signifies "The Third Part of the Ramayan;" wherein *Canda* signifies a 'book, as *Parvam* does in the Maha Bharat, and *Scandham* has the same import as regards the Bhagavatam. Elsewhere we meet a quotation "Iti Salyé," anglice "Vide Maha Bharat, book ix." Herodotus thus names his books after the Muses.

Some books of the Maha Bharat have two names, as in the Bible we find "Canticles" used for *The Song of Solomon*. Using P for Parvam (book), the names of the divisions are as follows:—1. Adī P. 2. Sabhā P. 3. Aran'ya P., alias A'ran'yam alias Vana P. 4. Vratā P. 5. Udyōga P. 6. Bhishma P. 7. Drōṇa P. 8. Carṇa P. 9. S'alya P. 10. Saupṭica P. 11. Strī P., alias Viśoca P. 12. S'ānti P. 13. Anusāsānīca P. 14. As'wameḍha P. 15. As'rama vāsa P. 16. Mōsala P., alias Gadā P. 17. Mahā Prasthānīca P. 18. Swarga Rohana P. To aid us in recollecting these names in their order, the following rough hexameters have been constructed.

¹ Adī, ² Sabh', ³ A'ran'yamque, ⁴ Virāt', ⁵ Udyōgaque (quinque),

⁶ Bhishmas, ⁷ Dro', ⁸ Car', ⁹ S'alyaque, ¹⁰ Saupṭica (Prælia quinque),

¹¹ Strī, ¹² S'ānt' atque, ¹³ Anusās', ¹⁴ As'w', ¹⁵ As'rama (quindecimum fit).

¹⁶ Mōsala, ¹⁷ Prasthānīc', et ¹⁸ Swargam. BHARATA sunt.

The word *Panchacam* meaning a set of five; the name *Adī Panchacam* denotes the first five, and *Yuddha Panchacam* the second five, which are full of (yuddha) battles. This phrase sometimes occurs as the superscription of a manuscript. The last five (xiv—xviii) are occasionally, but rarely, called Antya Panchacam (अन्त्यपंचकं)

These principal books are subdivided into smaller portions, which are likewise denominated *Parram*; and again divided into chapters, called *Adhyāyam*.

In like manner, the Cānd'as, or books of the Ramayanam, are simply quoted by their titles, thus (using C for Cānda):—1. Bāla C. 2. Ayōdhyā C. 3. Aranya C., &c., of which the order may be thus recollect-
ed:

¹ Bāl'et, ² Ayōdhyā Cānda, et ³ Aranyam, ⁴ Kishkindhamque,

⁵ Sundara, ⁶ Yuddh' atque, ⁷ Uttara, sunt Rāmāide septem.

The seventh book is generally denominated "Uttara Ramayan'am," or the Supplement.

The Śrī Bhāgavatam (so discriminated from the Apocryphal Dēvi Bhāgavatam) uses numerals alone; as Prathamam (*first*), Dasamam (*tenth* book), and so forth. Thus, a manuscript entitled (अष्टमं or अष्टमस्कंधं) Ashtamam, contains "The eighth Book of the Bhagavat." The tenth book of this poem is in two parts, which are denominated Pūrva Das'amam, and Uttara Das'amam; neither title containing any mention of the Bhagavat itself.

The custom of denoting chapters or books by fanciful names is very general in Sanserit literature. Some authors use the phrases ullāsam (delight), samudram (sea), dwīpa (island), stabacam (nosegay), and so forth; but the names I have now arranged, however rudely, in verse, are extremely puzzling to a foreigner. Having for several years found these lines a convenient aid in remembering the *numerical import* of the title, I have thought others might also accept their assistance.

C. P. B.

British Museum, 1st August.

THE INDIAN ARMY.

THE MADRAS MILITARY FUND.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR: I again resume my observations on the Madras Military Fund, for the purpose of replying to a letter in your Journal for June, by a MARRIED SUBSCRIBER.

Without stopping to notice the attempts he makes at sarcasm, I will observe that a considerable portion of his letter has already been answered by mine (of the 4th ult.) which appeared in the same number. I allude particularly to that which he has called a "flagrant instance of the perversion of texts." But that part of my letter, thus alluded to, which states, "the personal benefits of the Fund are dependent on the will of the directors," is *no quotation at all*, nor was it given in the way of extract, but merely as an opinion; and my reasons for that opinion are stated more at length in my letter of the 4th May. The quotations there made from the rules are *verbatim*, and are exactly the same; those your correspondent himself brings forward; and, moreover, as they even go beyond those which he quotes, he will, perhaps, be satisfied there is no flagrant distortion of facts in the case.

But it would naturally be supposed that one so *eloquently* indignant at a fancied departure from the integrity of faithful quotation, would not himself be guilty of such practices; and of course the MARRIED SUBSCRIBER must be immaculate, in this point, at least. I am quite willing to be subject to the rule, that he who quotes falsely, in order to hang an argument on any false premises, must have a bad cause to advocate, and be hard pushed for arguments in its favour. By this, let my letters be judged; but, in making this concession, I claim to try the letters of my opponents by the same rule. Let us then examine that of the MARRIED SUBSCRIBER in this manner, and see how it will stand the test.

He asserts that I have stated, the married interests are sacrificed to the bachelor interests : but he will find nothing in the remotest degree allied to such an opinion in my letters. I stated that the unmarried and junior officers preferred the reduction of the widows' pensions, to the reduction of the personal benefits to subscribers ; and simply for this reason : because all subaltern officers, whether married or single, are allowed the personal benefits from the Fund. But the married subalterns obtain much the larger share ; for each one is allowed a sum of money as equipment allowance for his wife and children, and to defray the expense of their passage, provided they proceed with him to Europe, when he returns on sick leave, if he choose to claim it (the word grates harshly in your correspondent's ears), on the score of being nearly penniless. It is, therefore, the personal benefits to subalterns, generally, and not the *bachelor interests*, which are fostered at the expense of justice to the widows and orphans, notwithstanding the latter possess by far the stronger claim.

But, forsooth, I *must* be wrong in my opinions, because the MARRIED SUBSCRIBER is perfectly satisfied with *his* lot ! If he be one of those who have received the personal benefits of the Fund, I am not surprised at his satisfaction ; because, if he has drawn upon the Fund agreeably to this regulation, he has received a sum infinitely larger than his payments have amounted to, or will amount to for many years ; and if he die to-morrow, his widow and children will receive three-fourths of the annuity they would have received, if he had subscribed to the Fund for thirty years without ever receiving any thing from it in the way of personal benefits. If this be his case, and it is not an uncommon one, I certainly think that he ought to be—as he states he is—*satisfied*.

It is amusing to see the readiness with which the MARRIED SUBSCRIBER assents to those parts of my letter which tend to the advantage of those interests which he wishes to advocate : and not only so, but he even extends and alters my positions to suit his own views. Thus, I stated that the *annuitants* could appeal to a court of law, because the obligation which they had signed, to prevent such appeal, was invalid. To this he assents, adding (as an improvement), "So can all the other claimants." I also stated, the annuitants were the only *legal* creditors on the Fund ; "True," responds the MARRIED SUBSCRIBER, "they are legal creditors, but so is every other claimant a legal creditor." But he forgets that all other claims except the annuities are merely contingent ; they are dependent on the state of the subscriber's health, dependent on the state of his *purse*, and dependent also on the recognition of the validity of his demand by the directors ; and if they refuse the claim, and refuse also to submit his case to the decision of the army, he is entirely without redress ; because the regulations provide that, unless *three* directors sanction an appeal, the subscriber agitating the question for himself in any way, is debarred ever after any benefit from the Fund. How a person, in such a case, can appeal to a court of law, I cannot clearly understand, unless the MARRIED SUBSCRIBER can enlighten me. It appears to me, that the obligation which every subscriber signs, when he applies for the benefits of the Fund, binds him to abide by this decision, and that he has no power whatever to dissolve the agreement. This I hold to be an injustice ; but such is the case ; and I have, in a former letter, shown why the annuitants are not likewise included in this restriction.

"But," says the MARRIED SUBSCRIBER, "OMICRON stickles at the expression, new regulation," &c. ; and then he proceeds to argue as though the

letter in question contained sentiments the reverse of those which are really stated in it. The letter plainly stated the opinion that no alteration in any existing regulation can be legally allowed, but that a *new regulation* may be made, provided it be in accordance with those which already exist. There is no rule which permits such *alterations*, as he supposes, to be made; for the regulation he quotes (whatever may have been intended by those who framed it) does not sanction any thing of the kind. The MARRIED SUBSCRIBER appears to be quite satisfied that the superficial meaning, which occurs to him, must necessarily be the correct and only one. But, however unwilling to destroy this dream of fancied security, I must tell him that another construction can, and must legally, be put upon the passage which he deems so conclusive. The rule says, "no alteration or amendment, proposed in the existing regulations, shall be adopted, unless a majority of two-thirds of the votes received, appear in favour of it." Mark the words, "alteration or amendment;" nothing is said about rescission, or expunction, or any thing of the sort; the words are, "no alteration or amendment" shall be made in the rules, without the sanction of the subscribers: with that sanction, alterations may be made by *adding* new rules, but nothing may be *rescinded* which already exists; unless, indeed, it can be proved, that blotting out a record is equivalent to correcting its inaccuracies, or pulling down a house is the same as repairing it; and therefore, as the clauses, once made, cannot be rescinded, whatever is added must accord with those which previously existed. Then again, the words "existing regulations" point out the meaning to be what I have here stated. It is not an individual or particular *rule* which may be altered by any additions; the word is not used in the singular but in the plural; it is the code of regulations which may be added to by new rules; but each *separate rule* must remain as it already exists, without addition or alteration of any kind. Had the rule in question ran thus, "No rule or regulation shall be made, altered, or rescinded, without the sanction," &c. its meaning would have been evident and conclusive. But the law always interprets penal clauses, which affect personal rights, in the most strict literal sense; it allows no inferences to be drawn; it would not allow *alteration* to mean *rescission*; or the word *regulations*, used in the plural, to mean an individual rule. But further; when this rule, as it now stands, is compared with Art. xii. sect. 7, it fully establishes the view which is here taken, for nothing is there mentioned except the power of making "new regulations." For want of an express regulation, therefore, for that purpose, no rule, when once passed, can be altered or annulled without the sanction of every individual subscriber; and if any such alteration be made, contrary to the wish of any one member, he will have his remedy by action at law against the directors and other subscribers, and can claim to be indemnified by them, from any loss he or his family may be likely to sustain by such alteration of the rules. For it must be observed that, simply as a subscriber, he is not required to sign any declaration to abide by the decision of the directors; it is only when he becomes a claimant on the Fund that he does this; and therefore, as a subscriber, he is entitled to appeal to a court of equity, if he desires to do so: for although he is not a legal creditor on the Fund, he possesses a vested interest in it, and can object to any steps which he considers weaken his security in the property of the institution. On such grounds, he could undoubtedly have a *locus standi* in a court of equity, though certainly not as a legal creditor.

There is nothing inconsistent, as your correspondent alleges, in stating that these regulations, such as they are, must be acted up to by the directors and

subscribers. They are bound to conform to them, unless they be *legally* altered, and even then such alteration can only have prospective effect; for no new regulation can, in any manner, affect those annuitants already on the Fund: the subscribers have no power to deprive them of what is their legal due, for, as creditors, they cannot be shuffled off by any such mode of proceeding. As regards the subscribers themselves, most certainly the code of laws can be altered in any manner they like, if *all* agree to such a proceeding; and that they ought to do so, in order to have the institution remodelled, is the line of argument I have taken throughout. Your correspondent must, therefore, be but a superficial reader, to have passed over that which has been broadly stated in my letters, as being, I conceive, the only means of saving the institution from destruction; for if he had read attentively, he would not have stated that I had argued, that the institution must for ever be continued on its present plan.

I shall pass over the nonsense which the MARRIED SUBSCRIBER has written about the "little family compact," and other such like rhodomontade; and I shall proceed at once to notice his postscript. He is evidently unaware of the nature of a "protest," for he considers it cannot be a correct mode of proceeding, to protest against the reduction of the annuities, because such a course is not provided for in the regulations. If such a thing had been mentioned in the regulations, the framers of them must have been greater dullards than I had imagined; for any person may deliver a protest, in the manner I suggested, without the sanction or permission of any rule, or any person, whatever.

But your correspondent imagines that I have advised the annuitants to refuse receiving their annuities, on purpose to inflict misery on themselves. I should not have supposed it possible that he possessed so little penetration as this avowal proves must be the case, had he not himself asserted the fact. But although the meaning of the passage in my letter to which he alludes is, without doubt, sufficiently explicit to be understood by all the *other* readers of your Journal, I will explain to him, that I advised the annuitants should *receive* their reduced annuities under protest, and then (in the character of proprietors, having a life-interest in the Fund) apply to the Court of Chancery, for an injunction, to prohibit the directors from paying any money to the half-caste women and children who have been admitted on the Fund in consequence of the abrogation of the exclusion clause. These (the half-caste annuitants) are the parties on whom, I stated, the misery would be inflicted, as the European annuitants would receive their money, notwithstanding the injunction on the directors. But this proceeding will not suit the views of the MARRIED SUBSCRIBER; for he proposes that the clause empowering reductions being made in the widows' annuities, be put in force. Now, though this clause might be valid until the exclusion clause was rescinded, I maintain that it is not so now; for as the deficiency in the income of the institution must have arisen, partly or wholly, from the increased claims, by the admission of the half-castes, the old annuitants ought not to suffer, by an unjust diversion of the funds, and to have their incomes reduced to supply the deficiency.

As a proof that the funds of an institution cannot be voted away by a *majority* of its members, on subjects not expressly defined by their rules, an instance may be mentioned of a schism which has recently occurred among the members of one of the leading clubs at the west end of the town. A majority of the members having voted a considerable sum for a purpose not recognised by the rules of the society, the minority took the opinion of one

of the most eminent counsel on the question; and he has stated, that he considers the act of the majority illegal. Therefore, if the managers of the club pay away the money, they will be compelled to repay it out of their own pockets.

To return to the letter of the **MARRIED SUBSCRIBER**. What he states about the officers subscribing to assist each other, is no answer to my observations about confining that assistance to the extravagant and thoughtless, to the exclusion of the careful and provident: and the observations he makes about "paupers" are completely erroneous and irrelevant, for I never used that expression throughout my letter.

I think it must be pretty evident what degree of credit the **MARRIED SUBSCRIBER** is entitled to, on the score of making faithful quotations. As to the observations he makes about my arguments being loose, my positions false, &c. they are not worth notice: my letters are before your readers, let them judge on which side the loose style and futile arguments lie. But there is one more subject I must reply to before closing this letter. I am asked to point out how other institutions settle the differences which occur among their members. As regards the London Life Assurance offices, I believe they settle these matters in the best possible way; that is, by giving no occasion for dissatisfaction. They are not continually altering their rules and their rates, undoing in one year what they did in the one previous: and therefore every man who subscribes to them knows exactly what he has to depend on, and he is not disappointed in the result. I am not aware that any institution above the rank of an artizans' friendly society ever has arbitrators appointed in the way your correspondent mentions; and although these societies have arbitrators, the magistrates also have authority over them, and frequently are called upon to decide cases when their arbitrators cannot satisfy the parties. But the idea suggested by the **MARRIED SUBSCRIBER**, that the directors of the Military Fund should be their own arbitrators, possesses certainly the claim of novelty if it have nothing else to recommend it. Before he proposes any other plan, I would suggest that he examine Johnson's Dictionary for the meaning of the word "arbitrator;" for I never before heard of a man acting in that capacity in his own case.

Had not this letter already extended to so great a length, I would comply with your correspondent's desire, and point out some of the solecisms, both in sense and syntax, exhibited in the regulations. I shall, however, probably take another opportunity of doing so.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

London, 8th June 1837.

OMICRON.

NATIVE SOCIETY IN INDIA.

No. II.—POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

SUPERSTITION of every kind—a belief in the influence of good and evil spirits, in witchcraft and sorcery—may be expected to exist amongst an imaginative people, who, while they may be said to have reached a high point of civilisation, still labour under the most deplorable ignorance. The religion of the Hindoos, pregnant as it is with the most absurd fancies which ever entered a distempered mind, would naturally induce those who profess it to give credence to all kinds of marvels; but it will be found that the followers of a purer, and certainly a far more reasonable creed, the Mohammedans, are very nearly, if not quite, as well disposed to pin their faith upon the grossest follies, and to adopt every idle invention which springs from the fears or the craft of their associates. That proneness to superstition, which can only be dissipated by the sun of knowledge and of science, is in India nurtured and fostered by so many and such various circumstances, that, although the more enlightened part of the community may survey the victims of delusive opinions with pity and contempt, they can scarcely feel surprised at the universality of the belief in demonology. It hardly requires any effort of the fancy to conjure up spectacles which may well be denominated supernatural, since it is difficult, and even impossible, for ignorant persons to account for them; and where there is no acquaintance with the operation of physical causes, it cannot be a matter of wonder that their effects should be attributed to the influence of some active spirit permitted to walk the earth or to rule the elements.

Partly dupes themselves, and according to the tendency of the human mind, as it has been exhibited in all countries and ages, anxious to profit by the credulity of others, the brahmins and priests of every denomination, together with professed sorcerers and cunning men and women, have united to aid a delusion from which they contrive to make a handsome profit. Evil influences of every kind are to be averted by offerings, and the gifted seer, who discovers the nature of the influence, and who can show by what means it may be rendered innocuous, comes in for a full share of the good things contained in the prescription. Amongst the Hindoos, illness of every kind is commonly ascribed either to the evil eye, which may be cast by some living human being upon the object which it desires to injure, or to the immortal portion of a deceased fellow-creature, the essence of a soul, which has left its earthly tenement under peculiar circumstances, and being denied a new body of its own in any world, takes up its abode in that of a living person, which it torments. Amid the influences of this nature which most frequently come under observation, are the following.

Mussau. This spirit is supposed to affect persons of all ages, and of each sex, and to be derived from an infant who has died before it could speak. When any unhappy individual is afflicted with sickness, in consequence of the agency of this wandering influence, its existence, according to common belief, may be ascertained by the learned Goonea, or whatever the personage professing to call spirits from the vasty deep, may be named; who arrives at the knowledge of this important fact by the performance of certain incantations and ceremonies: the latter chiefly consisting of trials of odd or even, of counting over little parcels of grains of wheat, a given number of times in succession. Should the destructive baby-essence be pronounced by the operator to be fairly ensconced in the corporeal frame of the invalid, then

agreeably to the caste and sex of the sufferer must the propitiatory offering be made. The skilful Goonea is usually called upon to state the particular articles which will be most acceptable to Mussau, who is supposed to inspire the exorcist at the moment, and therefore to acquaint him with the nature of the offering which will be the most pleasing to the unwelcome guest. Sometimes the tax imposed consists of a brahminical thread, at others a coco-nut, prepared food, fowls, hogs, pilgrimage, a feast to those cormorants the brahmins, or different ornaments worn by women. It is, moreover, the duty of the Goonea to select the most fitting place in which the offering should be made.

Khubees. These gentry are supposed to be the spirits of unlettered Mohammedans, who, perhaps, not feeling easy in the regions assigned to them, return to earth to impart a portion of their unhappiness to those who are still in a state of existence. Their influence is ascertained in a similar manner with that of Mussau, the offering of propitiation being generally a species of sweetened bread, called *naleeda*, the kind usually distributed to the poor at religious festivals.

Jind, a corruption probably of *Jin*, the common Hindoostance designation of a familiar or demon. This spirit should, in common courtesy, be regarded in a more respectful light than either of the preceding, since it is supposed to be derived from an educated Mohammedan. All castes are equally obnoxious to the attacks of this intruder, and the propitiation and place of offering are fixed by the Goonea as in the former instances, a goat occasionally being selected as the victim for sacrifice.

Brimdeo, supposed to be the spirit of a brahmin, and to affect all classes and ages. The presence of this influence, together with the nature of the propitiation, are either determined by the Goonea, according to the rules prescribed in the foregoing cases, or, this being the most potent of all the various tormenting powers, he is enabled to inspire the invalid with the knowledge which, in other cases, is only imparted to a professed soothsayer. The possessed person, therefore, sometimes announces the presence of Brimdeo, and names the offering best fitted to the occasion.

Chooruel. The ghost of a woman, which affects all classes and ages, but generally confines its mischievous influence to women and children.

Doolha-deo. The ghost of a man dying at the period of his marriage; a circumstance which will sufficiently account for the restlessness of his soul, and for the trouble which it gives the exorcist, who professes to have more difficulty in quieting this perturbed spirit than with any of the others.

Mutteea. The ghost of a male infant, four or five years old, let loose upon the world by the sorcerers of Gyah, a very holy place in Lower Hindoostan, much frequented by pilgrims. This little imp does not, according to general belief, exert its evil influence upon mankind directly, but shows its injurious tendency in cutting off the supply of milk from the cow belonging to some luckless individual who is exposed to its malicious propensities, and thus contrives to destroy his profits and disturb his peace of mind. Mutteeas form a source of traffic to the holy men at Gyah, who sell them to people belonging to the Tillee caste for forty or fifty rupees each. The pernicious essence thus obtained, or rather thus supposed to be obtained, is kept by the purchasers in their dwelling-houses, to be employed upon any fitting occasion; and being generally purchased with a view to avenge some real or fancied injury received from a neighbour, is usually immediately employed in its own peculiar department. When a Tillee is under the suspicion of keeping a spirit of this description, it is made a subject of regular accusation by the people around, all

of whom are interested in the matter, since their cattle may be the objects of the evil influence. Should the charge be substantiated before the judge, the possessor of this mischievous implement was, in the days of native jurisdiction, fined according to his means, and compelled to enter into an engagement never again to avail himself of the assistance of so powerful an agent. Upon these occasions, it was by no means unusual for the individuals thus accused to confess that they were actually in possession of a spirit, of whose potency they entertained no doubt, and in consequence they paid the fine without remonstrance: a proof of self-deception which, however extraordinary, is not without a parallel in the annals of witchcraft.

Cheedh is a spirit which bears a striking resemblance to the Will-o'-the-wisp of Europe, as it appears only in the dark, acting as a delusive light to mislead the wayfarer, and at other times assuming the forms of various animals, such as bullocks, buffaloes, or horses, to deceive the traveller on the road. It is rather singular that the superstition so familiar in England respecting the flame engendered by the decomposition of bituminous vegetable matter, which has so frequently caused rustics to suppose that they had been "lanthorn-led by Friar Rush," should have been found in India, since this eccentric meteor, formed of phosphoretted hydrogen, has never been observed in any of its districts by scientific Europeans, who, in speaking of the *ignis fatuus* of an English swamp, state their opinion that the atmosphere of India is not favourable to its production.

Donka Padih is the name of the spirit who ministers to the wants of the Gooneas, or sorcerers, themselves, and is supposed to exert at their dictation a jurisdiction over all the invisible essences, either floating through the air or lodged in corporeal frames. Although the belief in the above-mentioned influences may vary in different provinces, some being perhaps peculiar to the districts on the Nerbudda, it prevails in various shapes all over India, the Mohammedans participating in the general opinion that evil spirits have power to enter the human form, and qualifying themselves, by particular studies and ceremonies, to become exorcists, to command the presence of genii or demons, and to cast out devils. In order to invest this peculiar science with a proper degree of dignity, it is gravely asserted, that its acquirement, unless under proper guidance, is attended with great danger, and that the student, if misinformed, or who derives his knowledge from books, and not from a master who has been instructed by the demons themselves, and has the power of performing miracles, will in all probability be punished by madness or death. However, in case a tyro should lose his senses on the perusal of this perilous lore, and wander, in the paroxysms of his distemper, through deserts and over mountains, if he happen to meet with an erudite teacher, he may be restored to his former sanity, and pursue his studies with the benefit of an experienced guide with the certainty of the happiest results. It is necessary, in addition to the prudent choice of a tutor, to observe certain conditions respecting the mode of life to be adopted, the diet, clothing, and peculiar ceremonies, the omission of any one of which particulars may be attended with the most fatal consequences, existence itself being hazarded by a departure from the regulations made and provided for this especial purpose. The belief of the Mohammedans in the existence of good and evil spirits, who may be compelled to perform the bidding of a mortal, is not only manifested in their tales and legends, but forms also a subject of grave record, and is mixed up with their religious creed. They aver that the genii are spirits which constantly reside in the lowest of the seven firmaments, and that they are enabled to render them-

selves visible at pleasure to the human inhabitants of the earth. They are of various denominations, some good and some evil, some very powerful and luxurious, and others reduced to such a low estate as to be compelled to live upon bones and air—poor devils, in fact, who have their types here below. These different genii are innumerable, nine being added to the family of the principal amongst those which are evil, for every soul that comes into the world. It may, therefore, be readily imagined that, having such legions to contend against, it is necessary that every sort of charm, amulet, offering, and exorcism, should be put in force for the prevention or the cure of the mischiefs which they bring upon mankind: the ill-disposed genii being by far the more active of the two classes. As the European reader will not be much edified by the directions given for the performance of those ceremonies, spells, and incantations, which are intended to put the troublesome demon to the rout, they are omitted, it being merely the object of this paper to show the peculiar notions entertained in India upon the subject of demonology and witchcraft.*

Amidst other superstitions, that which is so prevalent at the present day in Egypt, is to be found in India, though perhaps peculiar to the Mohammedan portion of the community, and not certainly having a high reputation among the learned, who, while professing their entire belief in other things equally wonderful, do not give much credit to a species of divination which is in high esteem elsewhere. Lamp-black obtained from the roots of the *achyranthes aspera*, the white *abrus precatorius*, and the *trianthema decandra*, mixed with castor-oil, is applied to the hand of a child who, in looking upon it, details what he perceives, the talismanic mixture, when accompanied by certain words of power, acting as a magic mirror, in which strange things become distinctly visible.† Having been favoured by a gentleman who has not long since returned from Egypt, and who has not published his travels, with an incident which occurred to him during his sojourn, I feel tempted to transcribe his letter, since it is calculated to illustrate the belief which exists in India upon the same subject, and may amuse those who have not read the account given of a subsequent display of the same kind of legerdemain, if it may thus profanely be styled, exhibited to some distinguished travellers, which has, I believe, been printed in one of the miscellanies of the day.

"While travelling in Egypt, some years since, I happened to sojourn for a few days in the neighbourhood of the pyramids of Sakarah, a few miles from Cairo. Reclining one day, during the noontide heat, and after the fatigues of a morning's exploration, under the scanty shade of a few date trees, and employed in a dozing speculation upon the probable treasures of art concealed under the mounds of rubbish, which are all that now mark the site of Memphis, I was surprised by the approach of a man, attired in the common Arab dress of the country, leaning upon a long staff, who, saluting me in French, seated himself by my side. From the darkness of his skin, and the scantiness of his beard, I at first imagined him to be an Arab, who had picked up a few words of the 'universal language;' but soon discovered that he was an European, a native, I think, of Rome. He told me that he had been employed for many years in searching for curiosities and specimens of Egyptian art among the ruins and catacombs of Upper and Lower Egypt. There was an originality in his remarks, and a degree of romance in his history, which interested me much; and as our intimacy increased, I discovered that he entertained opinions

* Those who are curious upon this point may consult Dr. Herklot's translation of the *Qanoon-e-Islam*, where the subject is treated of by one of the initiates.

† *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 37.

whose wildness almost amounted to insanity, and which, upon many points, would have given rise to a doubt of his being perfectly in his senses, had they not been tempered with great intelligence and information; and at length, to my utter astonishment, before we parted, he avowed his firm belief, that a remnant of the ancient art of magic still existed in Egypt; declaring, at the same time, that he had made some progress in its study. The circumstances which he adduced in support of his opinion were so singular, if true, that upon my return to Cairo, I was induced secretly to make farther inquiry, and, therefore, sent for a person, whose name he had given me, and whom he represented as being able to remove any scepticism I might entertain upon the subject. The man, who was a Hadji and Shereef, met my wishes, and in the evening paid me a visit. He was a slight old man, distinguished by great gentleness of manner, and a gravity of deportment remarkable even in a Turk. He answered all my questions without hesitation; but, either from the stupidity of my interpreter, or the mysterious phraseology which he employed, I could gather little more than that he had not the power to foretell future, or relate past events, but could only describe that which was actually occurring at the time, in any part of the world; that the immediate agent must be a person perfectly pure in thought as well as in act, for which reason it was necessary to select a child of tender age for the purpose. Upon requesting him to give me a specimen of his power, he readily consented, and a child accidentally passing in the street, having been induced by the promise of a few piastres to officiate in the manner required, he commenced his operations. He first requested some live coals to be brought, which he placed on the ground to the right of the child, who knelt before him as he sat cross-legged on the divan. He then covered five or six slips of paper with uncouth characters, and laid them beside him, occasionally throwing one into the fire, as the ceremony proceeded. His next step was to make a circle of the same kind of character on the palm of the child's hand, which he subsequently rubbed all together into one mass of wet ink; upon this blot of ink he directed the child to fix his attention, and on no account to look another way. Having thrown some powder into the fire, which produced a white smoke and an aromatic smell, he began to bend himself backwards and forwards with a regular motion, repeating at the same time some unintelligible sentences in a low singing tone, occasionally inquiring of the child what he saw. The reply at first was, 'I see my face;' which was natural enough, the mass of wet ink acting as a mirror; but, as the ceremony proceeded, the child's attention became more riveted, and at length, with protruding eyes, and gasping for breath, he exclaimed, 'I see, I see!' 'What do you see?' inquired the old man. 'I see,' he replied, with great rapidity, as if the events were quickly passing before him, "I see the sultan on horseback—I see soldiers, many soldiers—I see them pitch a tent—I see the sultan dismount and enter it—I see the soldiers kill a bullock—I see the sultan come out of the tent and look at its inside—I see, I see—I now see nothing—it has all passed away." 'Now,' said the old man, with much solemnity, 'if you will name any friend in whose actions you feel interested, the child will accurately describe what they are at this moment doing.' I named a friend, whom I selected on account of a personal peculiarity which I thought, if there was any deception in the affair, would puzzle them; it was a naval officer, who had lost an arm. After some time, during which the old man frequently asked the child, 'What do you see? do you see nothing?' while he continued his sing-song incantation between the questions, the boy exclaimed, 'I see'— 'What?' 'I see a Frank!' 'How is he dressed?' 'He is dressed in black, with gold

buttons on his breast, gold lace round his neck,* &c., describing, as accurately as might be expected of a thing which he saw for the first time, a naval uniform. Upon questioning him farther, he described the left sleeve as being fastened across the breast, and appearing to have no arm in it. This result, I must confess, much surprised me, but I was still unwilling to believe it any thing save a clever deception. I requested another proof, which was readily acceded to, and I named a gentleman with whom I was not acquainted, but whom I had seen in England, and who was remarkable for his personal deformity. The description was even more strikingly accurate than the former; from the hump on the back to the nankeen breeches, white stockings, shoe-buckles, &c., which formed his usual costume, nothing was omitted, and the description of the library in which he was represented to be seated reading, I could have no doubt of being equally faithful. The child had now become too much agitated and exhausted to allow us to proceed farther, and I was left in my astonishment to form conjectures respecting the means by which such effects could have been produced. The conversation and explanation of the old man were as mystical and mysterious as might have been expected. He talked of 'blue spirits and black, white spirits and grey,'* as if they were his constant companions; mentioned certain sounds which were highly grateful to them, and others which were their aversion; alluded to the agency of music and aromatics in obtaining an influence over them, &c., but ended by declaring himself a mere tyro in the art. He mentioned a Coptic priest, then in Upper Egypt, whom he represented as being so far advanced in magic lore as to be able at will to give motion to inanimate substances; but said that such a pitch of excellence could only be obtained by great study, intense prayer and watching, and much alms-giving" (to say nothing of a galvanic-battery). "I frequently saw the old man," continues my friend, "after this interview, and had more than one proof of his skill. I was much pleased with his conversation, and took great pains to frame a reasonable theory to account for what I have described. Other travellers, to whom I made him known, were more scrupulous. A naval and a military officer of some rank, and an amiable and highly-informed nobleman, were so deeply affected by the exhibition of the skill of the magician, that they refused to be present a second time. They observed that they had no doubt that the circumstances might be explained, and shown to be produced by natural means, and they did not choose to acknowledge their belief in human power to control the world of spirits; but still the affair was so extraordinary, that they would rather not again be a party. They remarked, that we are forbidden in the New Testament to hold communication with evil spirits; which, to them, was a convincing proof that such beings really do exist, and they declined to participate in any attempt to produce them *in propria persona*, upon principle. The highly intelligent individual, who first directed my attention to the subject, has, I have recently learned, been excommunicated for avowing his belief in it. A solitary life passed among objects of such commanding interest as those which, in consequence of his employment, were continually before his sight, acting upon a lively imagination, and a mind naturally, perhaps, tinged with superstition, at length produced *monomania*."*

* Since this paper was in the printer's hands, the author has communicated to us the following explanation, which we append in our coadjutor's own words: "In writing this article, I had not seen the review of Mr. Lane's book, nor have I seen it now; though I hear there are some coincidences in the account given by him, and that furnished to me by the gentleman whose MS. I have quoted, concerning the practice of a peculiar species of divination in Egypt. Since the despatch of the article to you, I have met with Mr. Wilkinson, the traveller, who informs me that, upon all occasions in which the child is called upon to say what he sees in the mass of ink upon his hand, he declares that he sees the Sultan, with tents, soldiers, &c. The selection of Lord Nelson, and of a living naval officer without an arm, seems to

Since Europeans, having the advantages of education, and being by no means deficient in intellect, were perplexed in the extreme by the necromantic arts exhibited before them, it cannot be a matter of surprise, that people, brought up in the belief of the intimate communion between the world of spirits and the human world, should attach credit to the marvels displayed before them by adepts in the science. It is not only from evil spirits or homeless essences that the natives of India are doomed to suffer; their human enemies may, if they please, have recourse to supernatural means in order to afflict them with internal disease. There are in Hindostan professed heart-eaters, and liver-eaters, who, by their spells and incantations, can steal away and devour these vital organs, thereby reducing the luckless individual thus attacked to the greatest extremity. These extraordinary feeders are, it is said, able to communicate their art, by giving those who desire to exercise it a piece of liver-cake to eat. They are dangerous people, effecting as much mischief by their pretended power, as if they actually were able to achieve what they profess, since they work upon the fears and excite the imaginations of the unhappy individuals who are subjected to this diabolical influence, producing upon the mind of the patient, who is rendered hypochondriac by the artful suggestions of his enemy, anguish, disease, and finally death. In many stages of the disorder thus produced, the heart-eater can effect a cure by pretending to forego his operations, or by relinquishing the heart which has been taken by spells out of the body of his adversary. This is usually given up in the form of the seed of a pomegranate ejected from the mouth of the sorcerer, and which is eagerly swallowed by the party suffering from its loss, who straightway, having his mind freed from the horrible conviction which preyed upon it, recovers his bodily health, and is ready to avouch from experience the fact which the heart-eater is so desirous to establish.

Few people have moved much amongst the natives of India without becoming acquainted with instances to prove how frequently this sort of cruel delusion is exercised over the mind, which, however strong, if not fortified by the assistance of knowledge, usually sinks under the frightful idea that an enemy has the power of practising on life without the aid of visible means.* It may well be supposed that, amid so superstitious a people, love-charms and philtres of various kinds are believed to have wonderful efficacy, and some of these compounds are of so deleterious a nature, that the party partaking of them die from the effects of poison administered with a view to fix the affections upon one particular object. A more innocent device for exciting an attachment, or for ensuring constancy, consists in repeating a few verses from the *Koran* over some article of food, which, if eaten immediately, will be productive of the happiest results. Some employ amulets, for the purpose of captivating hearts; these talismans being constructed in a variety of ways: one is a tablet, on which is inscribed a magic square, and set as a ring, or bracelet; others are written on thin plates of metal, or upon paper, folded up and worn upon the person, while a third kind consists of particular roots, creepers, leaves, &c., gathered with many ceremonials, and tied up in small bags. There

to have been made for the purpose of trying whether the child would notice the loss of a limb, and was probably prompted by the Magian himself, who, however, appears certainly to have contrived to mystify the parties, Mr. Wilkinson declaring, that it is impossible to account satisfactorily for the answers of the child. My friend, Dr. —, has promised to write to me on this subject from Cairo, and should you think it necessary, you would, perhaps, add a note to my MS., explanatory of the resemblance between the account given by Mr. Lane and that of my friend, which I have every reason to believe to be genuine, and which I have had in my possession for several months."—Ed.

* Dr. Spry, in his interesting work entitled "*Modern India*," relates the fatal termination of a series of incantations practised upon a respectable inhabitant of Saugor, who, though at first incredulous, suffered his life to be juggled away.

are wise women in India, who prepare an ointment, which, if it can be applied to the heart of the person whose love is desired, will, it is confidently asserted, create a strong attachment towards the party who is enabled to rub this precious unguent under the left breast of the beloved. It is described as producing a very agreeable sensation, a delightful glow, accompanied by a spicy odour, which impregnates the atmosphere around, and disposes the mind to pleasing thoughts. With equal ease, persons may be set at variance with each other, an object which, if not effected by the ordinary means employed with so much success in other parts of the world, may be compassed by reading bare-headed, at noon, a particular chapter of the *Koran*, forty-one times, over some earth taken out of a grave, which, if thrown upon the parties as they walk along, will occasion enmity between them; or if, adds our authority, "taking forty corns of black pepper, he for a week, morning and evening, read the above-mentioned chapter once on each pepper-corn, in the name of the two individuals, or if, for forty days, each time using forty pepper-corns, he read the chapter once on each, and then burn them, enmity will be established between the persons."* The Mahomedans also believe that there are means of causing the death of an enemy without having recourse to actual violence, and that if persecuted by some individual against whom they have no legal method of redress, it is lawful to procure revenge by endeavouring themselves, or inciting others, to effect their destruction by supernatural devices. The plan usually adopted is to make an image of earth taken out of a grave, and to repeat the fatal chapter over it, and to say the prayers backwards, every word spelt in the same way, that is, with the letters reversed: these and other preliminaries being accomplished, the image is perforated with wooden pegs in every part, and being shrouded like a human corse, is conveyed with funereal solemnity to the cemetery of the place, and interred in the name of the person whose death is desired, and who it is believed will not long survive the performance of these obsequies.

The idea which prevails all over India, respecting the existence of hidden treasures concealed in deserted buildings, has frequently been mentioned in the pages of the *Asiatic Journal*, and there is a superstition connected with them which is equally universal. It is supposed that, wheresoever articles of great value, either of gold or jewels, are deposited, a genius, assuming the form of a snake, is appointed to guard it; and as snakes are usually found in the holes and corners of dilapidated edifices, the treasure-seekers meet with continual proofs of the truth of this assertion. The notion of a spirit acting as a sentinel upon concealed treasure has been common to all periods of darkness and ignorance, and has been acted upon in the most barbarous manner by the Buccaneers of every country, who were wont, in burying the plunder which they could not conveniently carry away, to sacrifice some unfortunate individual upon the spot. The body of the victim was interred at the mouth of the place selected for what is, in the prairies of America, called the *cache*, or subterranean hiding-place, and it was believed that, if any save those who considered themselves to be the rightful owners of the spoil, should invade the retreat, the ghost of the murdered man would scare the intruders from the spot. In India, the snake is found to be so faithful a guardian, as to remain in the cell after the treasure has flown, for it is frequently the only reward of those who, having had information of receptacles formed for the sole purpose of containing wealth, which it was not prudent to display, have searched diligently without meeting with any thing save the reptile.

* *Qunoon-e-Islam*, p. 345.

Soothsayers, diviners, fairy women, and fortune-tellers of every kind, carry on a profitable occupation in India, both Hindoos and Mohammedans being equally subject to the influence with which their preternatural knowledge invests them, over minds imbued with the grossest superstition. Even the Mohammedans of India entertain a very high degree of respect for the Brahminical soothsayers, believing that the *mantra*, or malediction, when uttered according to the prescribed form, by one of the priesthood, can produce the most terrible effects. There is a passage in the *Védas* which declares that, "Even he who cannot be slain by the ponderous arms of Indra, nor by those of Kuli, nor by the terrible *chackra* of Vishnóo, shall be destroyed, if a Brahmin curse him, as if he were consumed by fire." It has been said, and no doubt with some degree of truth, that, upon our earliest occupation of India, Europeans themselves attached some weight to the predictions and incantations of the Brahmins; and in volumes of travels, recollections, &c. written by persons of education and credit, we read very marvellous accounts of gifted seers, who were never known to be out in their calculations. Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, relates three anecdotes in one place, "in confirmation," as he says, "of the penetrating spirit, preternatural gift, or whatever term may be allowed for the talent possessed by a Brahmin of great celebrity, at Bombay;" observing that, although, as a Christian, he must hesitate in giving credit to anything so apparently contradictory to revealed religion; as a member of the society in which they happened, and were generally believed, he knows that the predictions were made long before the events occurred, and that they were literally accomplished. This personage was fortunate enough to have foreseen the chances of the rise and progress of a civilian, with whom he formed a friendship, and whom he assured he would attain to the highest honours, ending his career in India as Governor of Bombay. After a long and prosperous career, Mr. Hodges, the person in question, while holding the chief authority at Surat, was dismissed from his appointment, and suspended the service. In great consternation, he sent for the Brahmin, who consoled him with the assurance that his successor had reached the portico, but would not enter the house; and shortly afterwards, an express arrived overland from England, which superseded the adverse party, and invested Mr. Hodges with the office of Governor of Bombay. "It is almost needless to remark," observes the narrator of this story, "the ascendancy of this Brahmin over the mind of Mr. Hodges, during the remainder of his life; nor is it to be wondered at, that the new governor should take no important step without consulting his Brahmin." At the present period, there would be little hope that equally fortunate coincidences would establish any Brahminical soothsayer as the confidential adviser of a British Governor; and the rapid spread of information renders it very probable that in a short time, few, if any, of the sects of India will continue to pay attention to pretenders, who must owe their reputation to the absence of the true lights of religion and science. From those who possess some plausible talent to recommend them to the attention of persons who are not destitute of sense and education, there are only a few steps to the mere vulgar professors of forbidden arts, and the believers in witchcraft.

Perhaps it is paying too great a compliment to the most enlightened classes of India, to suppose that they are wholly free from a superstition which attaches credit to the influence of the evil eye. The common formalities of life have been, throughout the East, established with a view to prevent the ill consequences which might result, should any person be allowed to speak or act in a way that the malicious and mischievous-minded could take advantage

of, to the injury of their associates. On some occasions, it is not proper to look at the party addressed, in case such an opportunity should permit an enemy to cast the evil eye; and it is against all etiquette to remark that a person is looking well, or is growing fat, since it may be supposed that such excellent condition may excite envy, and that the observation, accompanied by a malignant glance, would cause the object of it to dwindle and fade. Neither is it considered civil to make any enquiry after the family of an acquaintance, excepting in a very round-about manner. Among the Mohammedans, the cat, though often made a domestic pet, is looked upon in a very ungracious point of view; neither dog or cat are permitted to enter the apartment of a female during her confinement, and the very name of a cat is not allowed to be mentioned, as it is considered a witch. Cats, however, are often great favourites in Mohammedan families, and they are never ill-treated, in consequence of an act of kindness shown to an animal of this species, by the Prophet himself, who, finding a cat asleep on the sleeve of his *caftan*, cut it off rather than permit puss to be disturbed. In some cases, strangers are looked upon as objects of suspicion, it being considered very possible that an evil influence may enter with them, a misfortune which may be averted by throwing the seeds of a plant, *mhyndec*, into the fire. These notions certainly appear to be very ridiculous, but we must not censure those who entertain them with great severity, since, in a country so enlightened as England, we find occasionally observances of a nature equally absurd; and in some countries, even to this day, families who keep bees are in the habit of acquainting those industrious insects with any important event which has taken place, or is about to take place: for instance; a death of one of the members of the family, or an intended marriage, it being supposed that should such communication not be made, some misfortune will befall the married pair, or the survivors of the deceased.

As it has been remarked, in several previous papers upon the subject of native Indian manners, the belief in witchcraft is universal; any very heavy calamity, which may affect large bodies of the community, may be attributed to Kali, in the exercise of her destructive power; but the common accidents of life, sickness or mortality in the members of a family, or their cattle, the failure of crops, the sterility of cows, goats, &c., are ascribed to the agency of some evil power, brought into action by professors of the black art. Cases are continually coming before the magistrates, of complaints preferred either against reputed sorcerers or witches, for damage done in various invisible ways, or by the poor creatures thus suspected, who have been attacked and cruelly used by those who have fancied themselves wronged. Sometimes murders are committed, the defence set up being the provocation received from the slain, who by spells and incantations had ruined the fortunes, and destroyed the peace of mind of the party, who had avenged his wrongs with his own hands. On one occasion, a prisoner capitally arraigned for the murder of one Gunputee, who, mingling the professions of physic and sorcery together, attended the family in the capacity of physician, is described in the following manner: "So far from having the look of a murderer, or a ferocious savage aspect, his countenance is remarkably placid, and his whole demeanour such as to impress one with the notion of his being one of the most gentle, humble, and inoffensive of human beings." The deceased Gunputee, it appeared, trusting more to incantations and charms for the recovery of the sick, than to drugs or diet, impressed the minds of his patients with the idea that he could enchant or disenchant them at pleasure. According to the usual custom, he turn this notion to good account, by procuring propitiatory presents.

He had asked for a sort of drum, to which he had taken a fancy, which was refused, and it was supposed that, in consequence, he had determined to afflict the cattle belonging to the prisoner so grievously, that he would be glad to give them away; and in the end, to compass the death of his three sons. The female buffaloes did not bring forth calves, and the young men were taken ill one after another, and in despite of counter-spells and enchantments from other adepts, died, one by one, of some unknown disease. The bereaved father, driven at length to desperation by these repeated mischances, and having sacrificed fowls and hogs in vain, took the law into his own hands, and, at the death of his wife, which filled up the measure of his woes, cut down his oppressor with a sword, and immediately surrendering himself into the hands of justice, was tried for the murder. Though duly convicted, the Court of Adawlut, taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case, the extreme ignorance and superstition of the people of the district in which the crime had been committed, judged it proper to mitigate the punishment to which the prisoner was liable, and sentenced him to imprisonment for life.

Persons suspected of being witches are often subjected to very cruel treatment, especially if the ordeal, to which their neighbours have recourse, should convict them of the crime. In India, as well as in Europe, it is supposed that a witch will float upon the water; but there are other tests by which their acquaintance with the black art may be proved. Oil poured in a leaf, with a little rice, forms one of these trials; should the oil run through when the names of the accused are called over, their guilt is established. At the Agra sessions, a case of murder occurred, in which the defence set up was as follows:—That the deceased was an enchanter, who, by the power of his magic, could render a person lifeless, or could afflict him with severe illness; in which latter case, on the relatives supplying him with such sums of money as he demanded, he would again restore the patient to his wonted health and strength. He in this manner extorted money from all, and utterly ruined many of the inhabitants, who, from the awe in which they stood of him, never dared to refuse compliance with his demands, however exorbitant, or even to lodge complaints against him in court. He was banished from the village during the government of Gen. Perron, by order of a *Punchayet*, under a universal persuasion that he practised witchcraft, to the great detriment of the people in the neighbourhood, and was not heard of until about six months before the commission of the outrage against him, when he returned to the village and again commenced the performance of his diabolic arts. "My son's wife, son, and father," continued the witness, the mother of the prisoner, "all fell victims to his fatal spells. He came to our house this morning, and sprinkled a few ashes over the prisoner's father, pronouncing an incantation at the same time, and the latter fell down lifeless. My son, having witnessed this act, implored him to restore his father to life; whereupon he threatened him also with immediate death, and quitted the house; on this, my son rushed out upon him, dragged him back, and killed him by repeated blows on the head with a flint stone." Other witnesses were called, who spoke to the good character of the prisoner, who was much esteemed in the village, on account of the mildness of his disposition, and his peaceable demeanour; and on their farther examination, they uniformly deposed that the deceased was a powerful enchanter, who practised sorcery, to the serious injury of the community, instancing cases wherein by his magic spells he had caused their cattle to fall lame, and extorted money from them under the terror which his fearful reputation had inspired. The prisoner was found guilty of murder, and liable to punishment

Accordingly, but, in consequence of the strong provocation which he had received, and the suddenness of the act, perpetrated from the conviction that three persons dear to him had been destroyed by spells, in the efficacy of which he implicitly believed, the Court considered Sheik Saadut's a fit case for mitigation of punishment, and sentenced him to three years' imprisonment.

In India, there are numerous ordeals by which a thief may be detected, besides the one most commonly practised, of causing the suspected parties to chew rice, an operation which, however easy to those who have nothing to fear, becomes difficult to the conscious delinquent, whose mouth, parched and dry, refuses its function, and upon examination, the rice is found whole. Another plan is to rub the upper stone of a mill with assafoetida, the stone being so placed as to appear to be suspended in the air; the persons implicated are obliged to go one by one into the apartment, and to touch this stone, all being assured that it will fall and entrap the head of the guilty person; consequently, the thief takes care not to touch it, and the operator, having smelt the heads of the whole number, easily selects that which has committed the theft. These and other contrivances, based upon a very accurate acquaintance with the operations of the human mind, are not unfrequently neglected for ordeals of less efficacy; for we are told by an authority already cited, that by far the most effectual method of catching thieves is to write the names of the persons present, with those of their fathers, in a magic square, drawn upon separate pieces of paper; these are to be folded up and enclosed in boluses made of wheat flour. A lota being filled with water, and all the boluses thrown in, the ticket of the thief will come up and float upon the surface. Other means of divination, equally wonderful, are practised with similar success. In describing these, the Mohammedan narrator observes that, although doubtless many persons will refuse to give credit to his statements, they are nevertheless true, he having witnessed the circumstances which he relates; concluding his account by declaring, with great consideration for the incredulity of his European readers, that people may believe him or not, as they please.

COMMERCE CONSIDERED AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING THE CIVILISATION OF BARBAROUS PEOPLE.

As no civilized government will repeat the strange experiment, tried at so recent a date as 1823, on the eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, to prohibit even trade with the natives, in order to secure peace, the ordinary arguments in favour of commerce, as one of the great means of civilisation, need not be insisted upon. The Caffre barbarian, who told the Governor of the Cape, thirty years ago,* that, without intercourse between neighbours, peace cannot be secured, is now admitted to have shown more political wisdom than the white statesman who obstinately persevered so long in the system of non-intercourse. Accordingly, trading with the less civilized tribes takes every day a wider range; but its natural influence being still greatly perverted by many errors, it will be an useful task to show what improvements can be made in all the different kinds of trading carried on with these tribes.

Before, however, attempting to explain how those improvements may be made, one example, found in the midst of millions of barbarians, and that certainly not a solitary one, deserves to be detailed as a perfect demonstration

* Lichtenstein's Travels in South Africa, i. 314.

both of their capacity to share all the benefits of commerce, and of its usefulness in promoting their civilisation. This interesting case is given from a paper read before the Geographical Society, by Mr. G. W. Earl, the author of an excellent volume upon the Eastern Archipelago. It is that of the inhabitants of the Arrú Islands, a small group situated forty miles south-west of New Guinea, and at a short distance from the track of ships passing from New South Wales and the South Seas, beyond Torres' Straits, into the Indian Ocean.

"As the Arrú islands," says Mr. Earl, "are supposed to contain no spice trees, the Dutch have not formed any establishment* in them; and they are consequently thickly inhabited by an industrious population, chiefly agricultural—a mixture of the New Guinea negro and the Arafura, or brown-complexioned, straight-haired race. They are larger and more powerful than the Malays and Javanese. They are noted for their honesty, and are not easily offended. The women† are well treated by their husbands. The majority are Pagans; but there are many Christians and Mohammedans among them: the former probably emigrants from some of the islands near Timor, and the Moluccas, the people of which have been converted to Christianity, and partly civilized, by the persevering Dutch missionaries. The Arrús are the *entrepôt* of the products of the neighbouring coasts and islands; and much commercial intercourse prevails with them, chiefly confined to the Chinese and native traders. Tortoise-shell, bees'-wax, ambergrise, Missoy bark (an aromatic resembling cinnamon, much used in the East, but never imported into Europe‡), birds of Paradise, trepang, and birds'-nests, are the chief exports. Fresh provisions and supplies for shipping may here be procured in abundance. British manufactures are introduced among the Arrús and adjacent islands by the Bughis, through the medium of Macassar, and at a profit not uncommonly of eight hundred per cent. Had the British settlement on the northern coast of Australia, at Port Essington or Raffles' Bay, for instance, only distant 250 miles from the Arru Islands, not been abandoned, it would, with proper arrangements, have shortly become (concludes Mr. Earl) the emporium of this part of the Archipelago."§

This example of the civilizing effects of free and peaceful commerce will be best appreciated by reflecting upon the component parts of the population of the Arrú Islands, and upon the circumstances in which that population is placed. Here the natives of New Guinea, commonly classed as an inferior race of irreclaimable savages, quit their wild habits; and associating in friendly equality with the itinerant traders from the more northerly islands, and from China, who bring there our manufactures, constitute a link between us and the millions of their race in New Holland, New Guinea, and the adjacent islands, who wait only for equally favourable circumstances to follow their example. To this end much would be gained, if the security given to the Arrú islanders from natural position, were afforded to their neighbours by wise policy on the part of the English, the Americans, the Dutch, and the other civilized peoples who have maritime influence. At least, the independence of such places as the Arrús ought to be guaranteed by all possible means, as affording the surest encouragement to millions of barbarians, and as calculated to render civilisation as accessible, as it clearly is acceptable to them. These

* The Arrú Islands seem also to be beyond the limits of the old Dutch possessions in India.

† The most commercial people of the Archipelago, the inhabitants of Celebes, are remarkable for the elevated station held among them by women.

‡ Missoy bark has been brought to England, but it was disregarded.—Ed.

§ Paper read by Mr. Earl at the Geographical Society, 13th March 1837.—*Athenæum*, 18th March.

islands now offer a safe resort to the strangers who seek many valuable articles to be collected in a natural state among the more barbarous tribes near them. The periodical winds and tranquil seas, in those latitudes, favour the navigators of even the rudest canoes. Some of the wilder men meet these strangers in this common asylum; and gradually, in spite of the frightful impediments of the slave-trade and piracies, a civilizing commerce creeps from point to point; and its course may be clearly traced along a series of most interesting settlements,* where a white man's name has scarcely ever been heard!

But if white governments would, as with ease they might, foster these good tendencies of even the most uncultivated tribes, all parts of the world would rapidly feel the effects of the change, by commercial relations becoming extended not more profitably to the natives than to ourselves.

Mr. Earl's testimony, on this occasion, to the fact of the Eastern negro race indicating a desire for improvement, in their eagerness to trade with strangers, is supported by other voyagers, early and recent. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several distinguished navigators returned from this part of the Eastern Archipelago, strongly impressed with the good capacity and hospitable demeanour of the natives, when brought under favourable circumstances. This experience led to proposals being made for colonizing New Britain, discovered by Dampier on the opposite side of New Guinea, from the Arrú Islands: "a country," said the projector truly, "of fruitful vallies and well wooded hills; with robust inhabitants of the negro race, easily brought into communication, and even perfect submission, with gentle and good usage."†

An expedition sent by the Dutch to the west coast of New Guinea, in 1828, completely verified these statements. Tribes were found in various degrees of barbarism, the most remote and the least known being the most barbarous. But all were eager to traffic with the Dutch for bark or otherwise; and the least remote, to whom Mussulman traders came periodically, gave the white people so friendly a reception, as to induce them, after staying two months, to found a new settlement on this part of the New Guinea coast, in lat. 3° 33' south.

The example of Singapore, also noticed by Mr. Earl, with a just tribute to the memory of its illustrious founder, Sir Stamford Raffles, proves what may be done in these seas, by "the union of native industry and British enterprise."‡ The success of Singapore was complete in the short space of seven years, so long as the sound principles of Sir Stamford prevailed. His means were, protection to the people, free trade, economical government, absence of taxes, checks on the Government by sharing it with the native and white merchants, encouragement to moral and intellectual improvement, and consequent public confidence.§ These principles have, from time to time, been infringed by the successors of Sir Stamford Raffles, and the result has uniformly shown the impolicy of the change. At this moment, not only is protection ill afforded to the commerce of Singapore, but the measure was contemplated of raising a duty on its exports and imports. The fatal tendency of such a measure is clearly and strongly demonstrated by Mr. Earl, who declares that it will drive the trade of the Archipelago from that settlement into its old channels, and perhaps to the neighbouring Dutch *free* port of Rhio.||

The trade of Singapore, which in 1819 was an *insignificant fishing village*,¶ and a *haunt of pirates*,** in spite of recent errors in policy, is an eloquent

* See the example of Pulo Nias, recorded by Sir Stamford Raffles, *Memoirs*, ii. 277.

† *Mod. Univ. History*, 1761, xi. 363.

‡ Mr. Earl's paper, *ante*.

§ *Memoirs of Sir Stamford Raffles*, vol. ii. pp. 10, 74, 264, 267, 271, 273, and 280.

¶ *Earl's Eastern Seas*, p. 408.

§ *Memoirs of Sir S. Raffles*, vol. ii. p. 12.

** *Id.* vol. ii. p. 268.

eulogy of Sir Stamford Raffles' views, both for the civilisation of the Eastern Archipelago, and for our own profit.

In two years and a-half from its foundation as a British settle- ment in 1819, the imports and exports were.....	} £. 1,600,000
In 1822.....	1,700,000
1827.....	5,750,000
1832.....	4 440,000
1833.....	3,900,000
1831.....	2,600,000
1835.....	2,565,000
1836.....	2,888,000

To what extent, against all expectations, trade may be carried on in barbarous countries, has been proved in South Africa, in regard to ivory. Thirty years ago, Barrow asserted that it could not be reckoned among the valuable exports from the Cape, and he sets the average amount of it at about twelve hundred weight. During twenty years, the Government verified his observation, not by trying the trade, but by prohibiting it. At length, the Africans were allowed to bring elephants'-teeth to our frontiers; and ever since this change of system, the amount exported has increased twenty, thirty, and forty-fold, with only such fluctuations as impolicy in other respects occasionally exposes the interior trade to.

I proceed to show the unsatisfactory way in which commerce has long been carried on by us in barbarous countries, ever since we ourselves could be called barbarians. Its various modes may be ranged under the following heads:

1. The expeditions of the early discoverers of new countries and their predecessors of the middle ages, which were often mere marauding parties.

2. The system of conquest, which for the most part must be little better than marauding on a large scale.

3. With a privileged company, as that which has possessed the exclusive trading to Hudson's Bay for 167 years.

4. With companies without exclusive privileges, such as those of Denmark, Sweden, and Ostend, to India, in the last century.

5. With Government establishments, and some licensed private-traders, as was tried in the United States of North America during many years.

6. With licensed private-traders without Government commercial establishments, as is now practised in North America and in South Africa on an extensive scale.

7. By free-traders unlicensed, as is now practised by us and by the Americans on an extensive scale in the South and Eastern seas, and in West Africa.

8. By aid of missionaries, as in some islands of the South Seas, in Labrador, and in the last century in Greenland.

Although some of these modes of trading have conferred extensive benefits upon barbarous tribes, others have greatly injured them; and none provide sufficiently for their wants when opening new communications with civilized people. The worst are some of the privileged companies, which, not content with themselves neglecting the improvement of the natives, have often opposed their being instructed by others; and generally oppress them in dealing. Privileged companies have commonly adopted the system of conquest, as a means of extending their operations; and their violent proceedings, in order to crush resistance, may be said to bear the character of the old marauding expeditions, with the aggravation of being permanent, whilst those expeditions were occasional only.

It has been usual to cite the Dutch as the great examples under this head; and if the reproach be directed against their *India Company*, not against the nation, it is unquestionably deserved. But the admirable conduct of missionaries* from Holland proves that there is nothing in the character of the Dutch people to incapacitate them from a very different career, when their system of commercial monopoly shall be abandoned in all its branches.

But the example of the Dutch in India is very far indeed from being solitary. Our own Hudson's Bay Company equals them in all points. Its gains have been enormously disproportioned to the price paid to the Indians for the articles exported. If it has never destroyed valuable native productions in order to secure monopoly prices, as was done in the Spice Islands, it has prevented the natives becoming prosperous cultivators of the soil, in order that they might remain more useful to itself as hunters. It has been lately declared to the House of Commons, not only that the Company has no establishment for educating or civilizing the Indians, but that its servants have inflicted fatal diseases on them, and that it carries on a system of trading which reduces the people to the condition of indebted slaves.† This Company, too, instead of importing provisions for their servants, as they ought to do, tempts the Indians by spirits to sell their own scanty supplies of food; the consequence of which is, that great numbers of them die of famine.‡ So long ago as in 1752, the Moravian brethren applied in vain to the Hudson's Bay Company for leave to preach the Gospel to the Indians belonging to their factories; and to improve their condition in other respects § Yet experience proved, in the analogous example of Greenland, that after the Moravians had settled there, the merchant got as large a quantity of produce from the people, at the missionary establishments alone, as before from the whole district.|| So long ago as the year 1741, vehement complaints were made in Parliament against this Company, on the ground of its disregard of the claims of the Indians; and in the course of its dissensions with the North-west Company, a few years ago, it was confessed, that those claims had never been respected on its part.¶

These facts show, that the proposal** of Mr. Burchell, the traveller, to invest a joint-stock company *with exclusive rights*, in the hope that its respectability will insure justice to the natives, is little recommended by experience.

No privileges, however, belonging to private companies have ever produced so much evil to barbarous tribes as the monopolies exercised by Governments. These state monopolies are not only equivalent to private privileges, but they are infinitely less controlled by any superior power. Such, for instance, was the monopoly of the Greenland trade, secured by a law to the Danish Crown. It completely crushed the old colonies, which had successfully resisted the severest inclemency of climate, and the extreme violences of the middle ages. After ruining the foreign commerce, it compelled the Christian colonists to quit a country to which no merchant could come to trade with them. The fatal law being repealed, profitable intercourse with Greenland has revived.†† The

* Van der Kemp was a Hollander.

† Evidence before the Aborigines' Committee, 1836, p. 642; and see *Modern Universal History*, xli. p. 126. § *Ib.* p. 640. § Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. ii. p. 126.

‡ *Ib.* pp. 162, 208. ¶ See pamphlets of 1819, in their controversy. ** Travels in South Africa.

†† Crantz's *Greenland*, 1620; and Graah's Narrative of a Voyage to discover the lost Colonies in Greenland. The accounts of these two writers are confirmed by Professor Magnussen, who, however, is too indulgent to the English traders: "The English trade," says he, "would no doubt have been conducted peacefully, and advantageously for the country, if Erik and the other monopolists of Bergen had not strove to impede it, and prohibited others from carrying on a trade which they could not carry on themselves. It was owing to such impolitic and arbitrary proceedings that the European colony in Greenland was lost; and Iceland would probably have shared the same fate, had not British merchants, in spite of prohibition, supplied it with articles absolutely necessary for the existence of its inhabitants."—*The Northern Antiquarian Miscellany*, quoted in the *Athenæum*, 19th August 1836, p. 597.

experience of the United States of North America, during many years, proves that *government trading posts*, although established specially for the benefit of the natives, are liable to abuses, perhaps impossible to be corrected.* Long ago, the Caffres pointed out to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope (without, however, producing conviction), that to expect goods at *very moderate prices* from the Government, as promised, would be a vain reliance. "They preferred trading with the colonists, although it was proved, and is easily to be conceived, that they were almost always overreached by them.†

Daily occurrences, where the *licensing* system prevails, prove too, that something more than the check of licenses is indispensable for the protection of the natives; whilst to let *free trade* go on without attempting, along with it, to guarantee justice being done between the various parties now in active commercial communication on the free-trading plan, would also be betraying an utter disregard to the dictates of daily experience.

How perseveringly the civilized trader, of every denomination, abuses his superior knowledge and strength when dealing with uncivilized people, is not a matter of doubtful or vague speculation. It was but the other day, that the captain of an East-India ship received a Malay merchant on board, with native produce for sale; and in order to get it at a low price, actually kept the merchant prisoner till he took the Englishman's offer. Again, in another part of the world, New Zealand, in 1830, the captain of a British vessel obtained a cargo of flax by assisting in the massacre of a party of the natives, under circumstances of extreme atrocity.‡ Again, in the South Sea Islands, acts of oppression in dealing, on the part of the Europeans, has been a frequent source of mischief, says the secretary of the London Missionary Society; and he supports the assertion by citing cases.§ Again, at Natal, in South Africa, traders have been known to go, in the name of the king of the country, to a chief of a town, and get cattle from him, on pretence that the king had ordered the sale, although it was not the case;|| and although the act must expose other parties to the greatest danger.

This point may be summed up correctly in the language of Sir Stamford Raffles, in regard to trade in the Eastern Seas: "Our intercourse with the Malays," says he, "has been carried on almost exclusively by adventurers little acquainted with either the country or people, and who have frequently been more remarkable for boldness than principle. The want of any settled basis of traffic, and the long indifference of the British Government to the complaints of either party, had produced so many impositions, reprisals, piracies, and murders, that it has fairly been observed, that every eastern trader must have been himself very much in the situation of a trader in spirits, tobacco, and blankets, among the Indians of North America."¶

Such is the abominable character of the ordinary systems of commercial intercourse between us and various uncivilized tribes. But even in the most successful cases, after great progress is made by the missionary to elevate, and something is conceded by the Government towards protecting, barbarous people, a new and difficult period follows. The half-civilized natives, in their transition, acquire many wants, with diminishing means of gratifying them; and they find themselves in collision with new neighbours, their superiors in intelligence, and habitual calculators how to turn that superiority to account at their expense. In this state of things, it is of great importance to help the

* State Papers (Indians). Folio. Washington, 1832.

† Lichtenstein, l. 317.

‡ Evidence before the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons, 1836.

§ 7b. p. 501.

|| 7b. p. 463.

¶ Memoirs of Sir Samuel Raffles, l. 30.

weaker parties *through the period of change* in their condition, if we would not see them perish during the hard struggle: and miserable indeed is the philosophy that declares destruction inevitable in such a case, when reasonable efforts might avert it! The most experienced friends of the natives have perceived the danger of such a crisis; and they have sought to meet it in various ways. The Jesuits in Paraguay took the unfortunate course of attempting to stop communication altogether between their people, and all the whites but themselves. The Moravian Brethren have always been remarkable for their views on this head, with extensively beneficial results. The Wesleyans in Caffreland succeeded, in spite of great opposition, in doing something that was excellent, as far as it went, in the same way.* A member of the London Missionary Society, the Rev. John Williams, has laid before Parliament a clear view of the difficulty of the case in the South Seas, where, says he, "a new system is wanted; for unless the resources of the natives are enlarged, of course their civilisation must stop at a particular period. It will not do to Christianize the people, and to leave them in a state of barbarism"† In the same spirit, the secretary of the Church Missionary Society stated to Parliament, that he thought the Government was bound "to care for finding the liberated Africans employment—in a certain sense capital, though that term is used in a very low signification indeed—and a *market*."‡ The Report of the Aborigines Committee limits its notice of this subject to a recommendation that the duties paid on native produce should be reduced to the amount paid by British subjects;—a most important change.

Commerce, indeed, offers one of the best means of preserving uncivilized men from a lingering but certain decay. Especially is it by studiously aiming at equalizing profits, an object difficult to be attained, that commerce may become a better instrument for improving barbarous people than it is at present, even where carried on in the least objectionable way. Attempts have been made to secure this object, by setting good prices on their produce at the places of export.§ Such regulations, however, even if prudently made, cannot be fully executed; and although they relieve some distress, they do not at the best sufficiently tend to make the natives independent, or enlightened so as to be able to protect themselves. But the time is arrived, when a new mode of trading in their behalf, and more and more *with their own agency*, may be projected, without incurring the imputation of Utopianism. Opinion is changing so rapidly on all topics concerning their rights, that it will not be thought visionary to suggest a measure to promote *equal* trading between us and them. The following commercial plan is, therefore, submitted to public consideration, in order to lessen the hazards of the transition-period already described. The elements of the plan are not complicated; and by it the inhabitants of each advancing country will stand on their own foundations, without being involved in the concerns of others.

The following articles contain the outlines of the proposed plan. •

1. In the first place, there must be formed an association in England, to receive in trust consignments of produce belonging to native owners in such countries as New Zealand; and to dispose of the same in the manner hereafter specified.

2. This association to be composed of a body of proprietors, with thirteen unpaid directors, and a paid administration.

* Evidence before the Aborigines Committee, 1836, p. 93.

† *Ib.*, 1836, p. 674.

‡ *Ib.* p. 514.

§ In 1776, the Danish Commercial Company raised the tariff of prices given to the Greenlanders for seal skins and other commodities, in order to protect them from frauds. Crantz, ii. 240.

3. The proprietors to consist of holders of stock, to be raised by £100 shares.

4. The thirteen unpaid directors, of whom three shall be a quorum, to be elected by the proprietors.

5. The paid administration will consist of a president, a secretary, and a treasurer, forming a working board, to be added to as the business of the association shall increase; and to be appointed and suspended by the directors, and removed and restored by vote of the proprietors.

6. The capital will be £200,000; a sum calculated in amount in reference to the *portion* of native produce to be exported to the association from the various barbarous countries hereafter specified.

7. One-half per cent. on each share to be paid down, and on each a-half per cent. more in four months, and calls to be made for further instalments according to the necessary expenses of the association.

8. The half and one and a-half per cent. instalments will be expended in the first year in preparing, by correspondence and otherwise, for consignments being made; and in the salaries and expenses of the working board, at the following rate:

President and a Clerk for four months.

Treasurer,

Secretary,

Clerks,

Servants,

Rent,

Sundries.

} After four months, the whole establishment will be formed.

9. At the end of six months, another call, of three per cent. on each share, will be made to meet the expense of consignments to be expected from the nearest countries, and warehouses.

10. At the end of one year, a third call, of five per cent. on each share, will be made, to meet the further expense of consignments.

11. Further calls will be made according to the arrival of cargoes, which it may be inexpedient to sell immediately, and which it may not be possible to pledge for the funds needed in reference to such cargoes.

12. The shares will bear ten per cent. interest per annum on the money paid up.

13. The association will correspond with agents either sent abroad, or found there, likely to be well disposed towards the natives of the different countries in question, and also likely to enjoy their confidence.

14. These agents will have stores of goods, where wanted, on account of the association, to barter with the natives; and also be authorized to negotiate bills drawn on its treasurer against cargoes of native produce.

15. These cargoes will be consigned in the names of the native owners; and accounts of each owner's or of each tribe's consignment will be kept separately from the accounts of all others.

16. There will be paid on account of the association, to the native owners on the spot, by the agents there, the local market price of the produce to be consigned.

17. It will also be explained to the native owners of the exported produce, that *its whole profit* will be remitted to them in goods, or otherwise, after deducting expenses of sales, and the proportionate charges of the establishment, with the charge of the sinking fund hereafter mentioned.

18. The agents abroad may contract with the masters of the ships in which

consignments are made, for the passage-money of any natives to England, not exceeding two in number upon every £1,000 worth of goods when embarked.

19. The proceeds of the sales shall be distributed as follows :

1. In paying the bills of the agents, and the expenses of the establishment, including the passage-money for natives coming to England, their support in Europe, and their passage-money home.

2. In contributions to the sinking fund.

3. In remittances in food or money to the native owners of the produce.

20. The sinking fund will consist of shares of the stock of the association purchased out of the profits of the consignments, and in the names of the native owners of the produce consigned. It will be applicable to losses, and ultimately belong to the native holders.

21. The home paid-administration will be composed, as much as is possible, of individuals selected from the agents abroad.

The field open to such an association, and the extent of its operations, may be estimated with considerable accuracy. The people to be assisted, are the natives of Greenland, Labrador, and other parts of British North America; of Honduras and Guiana; of Western Africa; and South Africa from the mouth of the Orange River to Delagoa Bay; of Ceylon; of New Zealand and the South Sea Islands; and of such islands in the Eastern Archipelago as New Guinea and New Britain. The association would deal with a comparatively small number of these people. The value of the articles sold by most of these people, and imported into Great Britain, independently of the provisions and labour which they supply to the English who resort to them, can be ascertained; and the prices paid to the natives for them may be conjectured.

The oil, the whale-bone, the skins, and the furs obtained from the natives in Greenland, in Labrador, in Hudson's Bay, and in other parts of North America, might be sold on their account in London at a great profit, and so provide means, now much wanted, to advance their civilisation. The same remark is to be applied to the ivory, the palm oil, the rice, the timber, the bees' wax, of Western Africa; to the ivory, the skins, the horns, and aloes of South Africa; to the flax and timber of New Zealand; and to the staples of all other countries contemplated in this plan.

Obvious objections will be made to this plan. It may be said, that the home administration will be unskilful, wasteful, or corrupt, being founded on a principle of mere agency.

To this the answer is, that good salaries given to experienced men, often brought home after tried good conduct abroad, will ensure competent skill and ordinary integrity, in the working boards and agents; whilst the influence of honourable ambition in the unpaid directors, and the personal interest of such of the natives as may come home, will be perpetual checks to abuse. The publicity of the concerns of the association will have the same tendency; and the certainty that the natives will soon discontinue their consignments if they do not profit by the efforts of the association, will effectually hinder great abuses.

It may also be said, that the success of the association will ruin the present body of merchants. Such an inference, however, would be against all experience. It might cut off some of the sources of unjust gain from a few individuals; but in proportion as the natives profited by it, they would become better customers to the mass of our exporters at home, as well as of the rapidly increasing and improving retailers of British goods abroad.

Its simplicity seems to be a guarantee to its success; and fidelity is not likely to be wanting in the agents. In the worst of times, a few individuals have ever been found ready to befriend the natives without reward; and the number is now daily increasing upon whom honourable compensation may be safely and usefully bestowed for honourable labour. The confidence of the natives will be secured in the opening of operations, by the local agents being known to them, and being also prepared to substantiate their professions forthwith by the advance of ten per cent. beyond the market price of the native produce. Afterwards, in the remotest parts of the world, the most uncultivated men will rapidly comprehend the great advantages they must derive from the new system of trade. They will not be long in learning how to become their own merchants, exclusively of assistance; so that the association, after helping gradually to civilize, will have no more to do; and as it may rise to great influence by demand for its instrumentality, so it will gradually decline, upon the ceasing of that demand, to be a mere historical vestige of what a helpless being the barbarian has been.

ON THE IMPROBABLE IN FICTION.

It is by no means uncommon to hear Eastern fictions condemned as extravagant and improbable; yet there is not amongst the canons of criticism any distinct or generally acknowledged rule which prescribes a standard of probability for such productions, or any law which restrains the excursions of the fancy into the boundless regions of ideal existence. The maxim of Horace, that "fictions, in order to please, must approach as nearly as possible to facts,"* however adapted to the state of poetry in his time, if even limited to dramatic composition, is plainly rejected by the more liberal and rational theory of modern art; for it would exclude pieces which are justly characterised as noble efforts of inventive genius. The *Midsummer Nights' Dream* and the *Tempest* of Shakespeare; the *Faust* of Goethe, and some of the dramas of Lord Byron, so far exceed the bounds of what is termed nature, and are so unlike our experience of facts, that it is their very conception, exhibiting the bold features of originality, which invests them with such sublime interest, and confers upon their authors the fame of being masters in the art. Extending the maxim to other species of poetry, it can be applied only inversely; for the pleasure we derive from the most successful imaginative poems, in modern languages, assuredly arises not from their approach to reality so much as their distance from it.

The inapplicability of the Horatian precept to our own literature will be evident when we consider a fact which is seldom sufficiently noticed, that the ancient Greeks and Romans had, strictly speaking, no imaginative poetry. All the machinery in their epic, lyric, and descriptive poems, which habit as much as taste disposes us to think so elegant and graceful, was an essential part of their religious system and their historical traditions. To the people for whom the *Iliad* and the *Æneid* were written, these poems were but eloquent descriptions of facts, and they dreamed as little

* "Ficta, voluptatis causa, stat proxima veris."

of contemplating them in the light of imaginative productions, as we should think of placing Hume's History of England or the Bible in that category. The *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, a poem which is now looked upon as the creation of a luxurious fancy, was wrought by its author out of matter-of-fact materials, with a far scantier infusion of extrinsic circumstances than has been admitted into the *Paradise Lost* or the *Messiah*. The rule of Horace, therefore, like many other rules of criticism, is not founded upon any philosophical principles, but was merely deduced from practice, and it is evidently inapplicable to the condition of fiction amongst modern nations, who regard as fanciful and elegant inventions, what the classical writers treated as solemn truths.

As the charge of improbability and extravagance is constantly brought, however unjustly, against Eastern writers in the gross, we have thought it worth inquiry whether our notions upon this point are sufficiently precise; whether, when we accuse the fantastic poetry of a nation of extravagance and improbability, we do so with reference to principles of criticism which can be reduced to any thing like a system; or whether the sentence is spontaneous and arbitrary, or at the utmost the result of that vague and undefinable quality called taste. The inquiry, as regards oriental compositions, is not one of frivolous curiosity; because it may improve our means of discovering the reasons why a literature, which possesses some attraction in its novelty at least, and may maintain a successful competition in many other respects with the Greek and Roman Classics, which still engross so much of our attention, is unpopular and neglected in the West.

It seems to be universally admitted, that the earliest and the favourite form of composition amongst the different families of the human race, was poetry. Their religious creeds, their myths and historical legends, their arts and sciences, were committed to the custody of verse, which in all languages, in some more eminently than others, is infinitely better adapted for this purpose than prose, whether as an oral or a written vehicle. The constant temptation to exaggeration afforded by the subjects themselves, and by the form of the record, increased by the poverty of the language, which required the use of metaphors, by the occasional adoption of allegory, and by the innocent artifices of rhapsodists, in exalting the deeds of heroic agents, soon imparted to these compositions their characteristic air of fantastic invention; and when we read the *Râmáyana*, the *Iliad*, the *Shah-nameh*, the *Nibelungen-lied*, or the Northern *Heldenbuch*, we forget, in their profuse mythological embellishments, that they are in fact historical records of the earliest antiquity in their respective nations.* To none of these nations did the extravagant details in these works appear improbable, for they were believed,—the actions in the *Râmáyana* and in the *Shah-nameh* are still credited as truths by the Hindus and the Persians. To us, however, they can only possess interest as fictions; and as fictions one is not more improbable than another.

Let us take the *Iliad* for an example, and divesting ourselves of all

* The *Shah-nameh*, though a comparatively modern work, was composed out of ancient materials.

preconceived opinions, early and academical associations, consider the character of its mythology, and of the machinery which is admired as so richly imaginative, and admired only because it is considered as imaginative. Can any thing be more gross and disgusting as well as improbable? An ancient critic remarks of the *Iliad*, that, in order to elevate his men to the rank of gods, Homer brings down his gods to the level of men; but in truth he degrades them lower, and we may securely aver that there is nothing so offensive to our abstract notions of the qualities which belong to superhuman beings, in any ancient Hindu poem, as in the admired *Iliad*. The whole system of the classical mythology, notwithstanding the encomium of Hume (which shows how easily *prejudice* fastens upon a *free-thinker*), is so outrageously revolting to common sense as well as decorum, that, in spite of the ingenious plea of Sir James Mackintosh, it would be beneficial to morals if it could be banished altogether, at least from our schools.

But it may be said that as our elegant literature has sprung, as it were, out of the Classics, which we have been accustomed to regard as models, we have been insensibly blinded to their moral defects, and that we should not admire or even tolerate their mythology if offered as a modern invention. Let us then consider whether the more recent imaginative poems of Western nations, written after the expulsion of mythological creeds, Greek, Roman, and Gothic, by the diffusion of Christianity,—and some of them founded on the great truths of Christianity itself,—are not obnoxious to the reproach, if it be one, of admitting extravagances and improbabilities: we will enumerate a few—the *Orlando Furioso*; the *Faery Queen*; *Paradise Lost*; Klopstock's *Messiah*; Wieland's *Oberon*. These are held by critics of all nations to be master-pieces of genius; and they are full of the wildest improbabilities,—extravagances which would shock every rational man, if fictions acquired their power of pleasing from their proximity to truth. Ariosto's work is a mass of heterogeneous materials, improbable in themselves, and extravagantly put together. Spenser's poem, though intended to be allegorical, cannot please on that ground, for as an allegory it is unintelligible. Milton's epic is full of absurdities, not to say blasphemies, if it be tried by the standard of veracity; and Klopstock's aberrations are still more extravagant. One of the most striking passages in the *Messiah*, which Mr. Wm. Taylor* considers to be "the insuperable of sublimity," is that wherein the author introduces Jehovah and Jesus administering an oath to each other on Mount Moriah, to perform and accept the atonement, all the innumerable worlds in the universe stopping on their axes through the alarm of the directing seraphs at the shock. It is one of the great distinctions of this poet that he *originalizes* every thing; he copies ideas, not visible objects; he translates reality into ideality. Wieland's master-piece, one of the most generally popular works ever produced,—the delight of the philosopher and of the multitude,—is a wild romantic epic, which scorns the test of truth or probability; for it is a picture of beings and of manners purely ideal. These, we repeat, are regarded as master-pieces of genius, and it is certain, there-

* Hist. Survey of German Poetry, i. 270.

fore, that extravagance and improbability can be no reproach to a narrative of action professing to be fictitious.

Probability, as applied to fictions, can only refer to the relation between the actions and the agents,—not to the actions alone. If there is an apparent incongruity between any act and the agency or means whereby it is effected, the act may be said to be improbable; but it is obvious that this is a very imperfect rule of judgment, and that a relation between agents and actions which exist only in the mind of the inventor, can be measured by no standard, time, space, mind, being his slaves and thralls.

The truth is, that critics dare not now attempt to set limits to the conceptions of a poetical fancy; that whatever world it can create and picture in bodily imagery, it may people with beings of its own, and endow them with any shape or quality it pleases, secure, if its invention bear the true stamp of genius, which can never be forged or mistaken, that it will not offend by its extravagance.

Upon what ground then can the disesteem of Eastern fictions be justified on the score of their extravagance? They have the same origin as those of the Greek and Roman writers—the belief of the people in their truth. They are far less immoral, and as a poetical machinery, the mythology of the Hindus offers greater facilities than that of the classical writers. Its analogy to the latter, in its better properties, is remarkable; it has almost the same race of dryads and hamadryads, naiads and nymphs of the air. In a Hindu play called *Mrichchakati*, or *the Toy-Cart*, translated by Professor Wilson, a villain tempts a virtuous man to murder an innocent female, and asks what he had to fear? in that lonely place who would see him? The other answers:

All nature—the surrounding realms of space;
The genii of these groves, the moon, the sun,
The winds, the vault of heaven, the firm-set earth,
Hell's awful ruler, and the conscious soul—
These all bear witness to the good or ill
That men perform, and these will see the deed.

This speech, which would be admired in a classical writer as much for its justness as for its poetical beauty, is little more than a quotation from the code of Menu,* and expresses the ordinary creed of the Hindu, who, Mr. Wilson elsewhere observes,† “vivifies all objects, and gives to mountains and rivers divine forms and sentient natures.” The striking similarity between many parts of the Hindu and the classical mythologies, it is well known, led Sir William Jones to adopt the theory that they were identical.

It is no slight proof of the attractions of Hindu poetry—and every department of literature is poetry with the Hindus—that Western scholars, brought up in the severe discipline of classical studies, have no sooner moistened their lips at its fount, than they have become enthusiasts in its cause. Not to mention the elegant scholar just referred to, and others who

* Benevolent genii, heavenly quirlaters, nymphs and demons, were amongst the first beings created, according to Menu, l. 37.

† Specimens of the Hindu Theatre, l. 384.

have succeeded him in the study of Sanscrit authors, M. Von Schlegel* speaks with rapture of Hindu literature, and Professor Milman, who was tempted to essay its "wonderful and mysterious language," bears testimony† to the "extreme beauty" of the Indian poems, and especially to the "Homeric simplicity" of the great epics, the *Mahābhārat* and *Rāmāyana*, "so totally opposite to the ordinary notions entertained of all Eastern poetry."

But, after all, it may be urged, it is clear that the Asiatic fictions are not adapted to European taste, or they would assuredly have worked their way into our literature long ago. It is somewhat unfortunate for this theory, that a large proportion of the popular fictions extant in the familiar literature of almost all western countries, and which were derived from the fabliaux and old Italian and French tale-writers, are indubitably of oriental origin, though we cannot now trace the route of their journey to Europe. It is a curious fact, that we can track the stories which delighted the reading public in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the old time before her, in plays and novels, through various channels, and sometimes directly, to the "extravagant and improbable" fictions of the East. Perhaps, however, it may be alleged, that this is owing to the fictions having been adapted by the importers to the European market; that they were divested of their oriental complexion, and that their most repulsive features were softened before they could amalgamate with the pure literature of the middle ages. But we have an example which obviates all objections of this kind, in a work of pure fiction, wrought in the warmest style of Eastern extravagance, which has nothing else to recommend it, neither language, sentiments, morals, nor manners, for it is a hybrid production, portraying the manners of no particular nation; yet which, with all its imperfections, and being mutilated to boot, is nevertheless a favourite with old and young, the learned and unlearned,—we mean what is called *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment*. There are individuals resembling the giant in Rabelais, who could breakfast comfortably upon windmills, but was choked when he attempted to swallow a small piece of warm butter.

The real repugnance of European readers to the poetry of the East, is not owing to the extravagance and improbability of its fictions, but to their own indolence. The works of oriental writers, even when placed before them in an English dress, demand some little previous preparatory study, and this is intolerable, when the press casts before them, in lavish profusion, a ceaseless succession of books which supply intellectual amusement with scarcely the toil of thinking. Ambition holds out few or no inducements to the cultivation of Sanscrit learning; the Indian Government discourages it upon avowed economical principles; and an ancient and noble language, a literature boundless in extent, and captivating to those who have courage to enter its portals, have too few charms to allure the English student from the beaten track of classical studies.

Fortunately, it is otherwise in Germany and France. The scholars of

* *Réflexions sur l'Étude des Langues Asiatiques.* 1832.

† Preface to the Translation of *Nala and Damayanti.* 1835.

those countries have had skill and taste to discern the high qualities of Indian literature, and resolution to vanquish the difficulties of its language. Their own imaginative compositions have already benefited by the transfusion of oriental sentiment and imagery; and it has been justly said, that the *Oberon* is a romance of so purely an Eastern character, that, were it well translated into Persian, it would enrapture by its perfection. It will not, probably, be long before oriental literature is thoroughly naturalized in Germany, and then, peradventure, fashion may give an impulse to its study here, and we shall wonder at the blindness which so long made us insensible to the majestic dignity of Valmiki, the grace and fancy of Kalidasa, and the lyric delicacy and sweetness of Jy deva.

LIFE OF THE FATIMITE CALIPH MOEZZ-LI-DIN-ALLAH.

BY M. QUATREMERÈRE.*

ABU-TAMIM-MAAD, surnamed Moezz-li-din-Allah, son of the Caliph Mansúr, was born on 15th of Ramadan, A.H. 317 (A.D. 929). Being designated as heir to the throne, as soon as his father died, A.H. 341 (A.D. 952), his title to the Caliphate was recognised without dispute. His age was then about 24; and on assuming the reins of government, he displayed equal ability and firmness in the administration of affairs. On the 7th of the month Dhúlhijjah, seated upon his throne of state, he admitted the grandees and a considerable number of the people into his presence, and was saluted by them Caliph, taking the title of Moezz-li-din-Allah. He manifested no grief at the death of his father.

As soon as he found himself in peaceful possession of supreme authority, he quitted his capital in 342, traversed the province of Afrikiah (Africa), halting at each town in his way, and applying himself every-where to the establishment of tranquillity, and the securing by just regulations the continuance of peace and prosperity in his states. From thence he proceeded to Mont Auras. All the rebels, who were encamped there in arms, hastened to lay them down, and to submit to the new Caliph, to whom they swore homage and fidelity. Amongst the number were the Benu-Kemlan and the Melilah, part of the tribe of Hawarah. Moezz then retraced his steps to Cairowan. He nominated, as governors of the different districts of his empire, his pages and officers, and others whose capacity and bravery he knew: each had a body of troops under his orders. Kaysar, the Slavonian, who had received the government of the city of Bágáiah, by his conciliatory measures, succeeded in disarming the Berbers and conducted them to Cairowan, where they had an honourable reception, and magnificent presents, from the prince. Mohammed ben-Khazar, amir of the Berber tribe of Mograwab, likewise proceeded to the capital, and experiencing a distinguished reception, took up his abode in the city, where he died in 348. In the year 343 (A.D. 954), Moezz summoned to his court Zayri ben-Monad, amir of the tribe of Sanhajah, who resided in the city of Ashir, and after loading him with presents, dismissed him to his government.

Moezz had amongst his freedmen a Greek named Jauher, son of Abd-allah, and surnamed Abu Hosayn. Brought up under Mansúr, to whom he first acted as secretary, he contrived to insinuate himself so adroitly into the good opinion of Moezz, and to secure his favour so completely, that this prince,

after raising him successively to different posts, elevated him at length to the rank of vizir, and gave him the chief command of his army.

In the year 344 (A.D. 955), a sanguinary battle took place between the troops of Moezz and those of Abd-errahman, sovereign of Spain : the victory was in favour of the Fatimite Caliph. Ebn-Khaldun says : " By the orders of Moezz, Hasan ben-Ali, governor of Sicily, having put to sea with a fleet, disembarked on the coast of Spain, near Almeria, which he ravaged, retiring with a rich booty and many prisoners. Náser, sovereign of Spain, despatched a fleet in his turn, under the command of his freedman, Gáleb. The Spaniards, having attempted a descent on the coast of Africa, were repulsed by the troops which guarded the province, and forced to re-embark. But the year following, they returned to the attack, with seventy ships, burned the port of Khizr, and ravaged the environs of Susah and Tabrakah."

The power of Moezz gained rapid strength in Africa, extending from the city of Ifkan, three days' journey beyond Táhart, to that of Rakkadah. Táhart and Ifkan were under the government of Jali ben-Mohammed-Yafeni. Ashir and its dependencies were under Zayri ben-Monad, of the tribe of Sanhajah. The governor of Mesilah was the Spaniard Jafar ben-Ali, and Bágáiah was under Kaysar, the Slavonian. Fez obeyed Ahmed ben-Bekr Jadhmi; at Sejelmasah ruled Mohammed ben-Fatah ben-Wasul, of the tribe of Meknásah.

Soon after, in the year 347, Moezz despatched Abu-Hosayn Jauher, at the head of a numerous army, including twenty thousand horsemen chosen from the Kotamah, the Zenatah, and other Berber tribes, and in which was the amír Zayri, of the Sanhajah nation, as well as other officers of the highest rank, to subject the cities of the Magreb which refused to acknowledge the authority of the new Caliph. According to Ebn Khaldun, Moezz determined on this expedition, because he was informed that Jali ben-Mohammed kept up a correspondence with the Ommyade princes who ruled in Spain. Jauher marched from Cairowan in the month of Safar, A.H. 347 (A.D. 958), at first against Táhart, which submitted. He completely defeated a number of different tribes, and conquered a great many places. Jali ben-Mohammed advanced to meet him; but he had scarcely left the city of Ifkan, when a tumult broke out in his rear-guard, excited, it is said, by the Benu-Jafren. Jali was seized, and massacred on the spot by the Berbers of the Kotamah tribe. The city of Ifkan was sacked, and Bedu, the son of Jali, taken prisoner. The Benu-Jafren alleged that Zayri ben-Monad contributed greatly to the death of their chief. Arriving under the walls of Fez, Jauher besieged it for some time; but finding his attack unsuccessful, he decamped, and directed his march towards Sejelmasah. The ruler of this city was then Shákar-billah-Mohammed ben-Fatah, who had reigned since the year 331, with great equity. He had taken, in 342, the title of *Amír-al Mumenin* (' Prince of Believers'), and had struck gold and silver money in his own name. Being informed of the approach of the troops of Moezz, he quitted his capital with his wife, children, and principal partisans, and took refuge in Tasferalt or Taskedat, a place well fortified, twelve miles from Sejelmasah. Jauher appeared before the latter city, and became master of it without a blow. A short time after, Mohammed, having disguised himself, and taking with him only a very few of his faithful servants, left his fortress and proceeded towards Sejelmasah, to learn personally the state of affairs. But he met on the road some people of the tribe of Madgarah, who recognised him, and seizing him they delivered him into the hands of Jauher. Pushing his conquests, this general reached the shores of the Atlantic ocean, whence having taken some fish, he put them into vases of water, and

sent them to Moezz, to shew the prince that he had carried his victorious arms to the very limits of the habitable world. He inclosed in his letter likewise some fragments of sea-weed, collected on the shores of the ocean. After this brilliant expedition, Jauher appeared a second time before Fez, attacked the city with vigour, and carried it by assault on the 21st of Ramadan, 348. This conquest was chiefly owing to the boldness of Zeyri ben-Monad, who, in the night, scaled the ramparts of the city. The governor of the place was amongst the prisoners. Jauher placed, throughout the Magreb, rulers devoted to him; and expelled those officers who commanded in the name of the sovereign of Spain: he added the city of Táhart to the province placed under the authority of Zeyri ben-Monad. He returned, covered with glory and loaded with booty, leading with him the sovereigns of Fez and of Sejelmasah, enclosed in two iron cages, and offered them as a present to his master. So many victories augmented to the highest pitch the favour which Jauher enjoyed with his sovereign.

This prince was now master of all Northern Africa, from the ocean to the frontiers of Egypt. In this vast extent of country, the authority of the Fatimite Caliph was universally acknowledged, and the *khotbah* performed in his name, except in the city of Sebtah, which alone remained subject to the Ommyade Caliph of Spain.

In 347, a most virulent contagious disease devastated the largest portion of the earth, exerting its violence especially on women and children. The number of the dead was so great, that they could not be interred, or, when they were, twenty or thirty bodies were thrown into the same grave.

In 348 (A.D. 959), Moezz learned that a fierce war raged in the Hejjaz between the families of Hasan and Jafar; that this melancholy quarrel had caused the effusion of much blood, and that the family of Hasan had sustained a greater loss than its rival. Moezz secretly despatched emissaries with large sums of money, who mediated between the two parties, made them listen to the dictates of reason and honour, and engaged in the name of their master to discharge the sums required to meet the price of blood incurred in the sanguinary conflict. Their representations had a good effect; the two families renounced their quarrel, and concluded a peace, which was sanctioned by a solemn oath in the mosque at Mecca, in front of the Cuabah. The family of Hasan having lost about seventy men more than the other branch, the price of their blood was paid by Moezz. We shall see in the end that the prince reaped the benefit of this generous act with interest.

Maad (that is, the Caliph Moezz) had established a severe police in the city of Cairowan. Night-watchmen, soldiers, and vigilant spies, kept the population in order. After the last evening prayer, a trumpet sounded, from which time, whoever was found in the streets was condemned to lose his head; for it was assumed that no one, at that late hour, would go out but robbers or other malefactors. These precautions undoubtedly have the appearance of extreme severity; but they will perhaps appear less strange, if we reflect that the city of Cairowan contained a number of persons, including men of influence, who thoroughly detested the Fatimites, and were incessantly exciting, in a covert manner, the hatred of the people against them. It is easy to conceive, therefore, that these princes lived in a state of constant distrust and uneasiness, and were obliged to use every expedient to counteract plots which might overturn their power. The historian of Cairowan relates an anecdote, in which he fancies something supernatural, but the circumstances denote nothing very miraculous. One Abu-Sayd-Khalaf is supposed by him to have been

indebted to Abu-Ishak-Sebay for his escape through the guards one night, when he had stayed too late at his house in conversation. This sheikh, having turned Abu-Sayd round, reciting prayers and passages of the *Coran*, told him that the Deity would be before him, behind him, and on each side of him, and he passed unobserved through the watch, and reached his home unharmed.

An anecdote, of little importance in itself, will demonstrate the opposition which the Fatimites encountered even in the midst of their capital, and how far they found themselves obliged, from their position, to tolerate injuries of a serious kind.

A schoolmaster (مدرّس), named Abu-Bekr-Yahia ben-Khalfun, of the tribe of Hawarah, was daring enough to brave the power of the prince. He was disgusted at an Oriental,* who placed himself in front of his class, and held language disrespectful to the caliphs Abu-Bekr and Omar, with the view of wounding and irritating the old man. The latter, losing patience, said to the children, "Inform me when this man returns." When he heard of his arrival, he concealed himself, and told the children, when he commenced his offensive declamations, to surround him, and force him into an apartment. They did so, and fastened his foot to a piece of wood. The master then directed them to begin reading aloud, placing themselves against the door, and elevating the pieces of board which they used to write upon. All of them exalted their voice at the same time, so that it was impossible to hear any thing besides; and the master then fell upon the man, threw him on the ground, and beat him cruelly on the back and head. When he was tired of this exercise, the children came up and said: "You have beaten this insolent fellow enough; now let us have our turn." Yahia having given them leave, they surrounded the man, and each struck him with all his force, so that the poor wretch's body was one entire wound. The children then dragged him by the legs and arms into the street, and a porter passing, they solicited him to take the man away in a panner. Some persons came to the master of the school, saying, "This man, whom you have maltreated, is a slave of the prince, and holds a respectable post about him. This affair may have serious consequences for you; you had better go to a certain lady of rank, whose son attends your school." Yahia thanked them, and called the child, to whom he said: "When I speak to your mother, do not fail to attest the truth of what I say." He took his cane, and proceeded to the lady's house, knocking at the door. The child opened it, saying, "Master, what is your business?" He replied, "I want particularly to speak to your mother." He was immediately introduced, and said to the lady: "Such an one appeared at my school, and wished to excite disorder amongst the children. If you doubt my word, interrogate your son." The child testified that the man had, in fact, incited him to revolt; whereupon the lady, irritated, exclaimed, "Bring the wretch hither." When he was in her presence, she kicked him to such a degree, that he remained senseless. The schoolmaster, likewise, brandishing his cane, advanced towards the man, and kicked him severely, saying, "Eastern hog, it is I, the Hawari." Abu-Damim, the governor, learning what insults and outrages this man had suffered from the schoolmaster, summoned the latter before him, saying, "Schoolmaster, Nasr wants you." "Who is Nasr?" asked the Hawari. "The gaoler," replied Abu-Damim. Yahia, after vainly endeavouring to get out of the scrape, resigned himself to his lot, and went quietly, cane and all, to prison. When he arrived there, Nasr, attended by his turnkeys, carrying a basket freighted with chains and fetters, received him, and

* The African authors often apply this term to the Fatimites and their partisans.

desired him to extend his legs. "Wherefore?" asked the schoolmaster. "That you may be put in irons," replied Nasr. Yahia submitted without resistance. Scarcely was he fettered, before a young man, well made and highly perfumed, entered the place, and addressing the gaoler and his gang, desired them, in a commanding tone, to leave the old man alone; asking the latter if he knew him. "Yes," replied the schoolmaster, "you are Jauher, so well known amongst the learned and men of merit." Jauher, having dismissed the gaoler's attendants, led away the old man, and demanding an audience of the caliph, took the schoolmaster by the hand, and introduced him to Maad, as his teacher called him. Yahia, when he entered the Hall of Audience, and beheld the prince seated on his throne, began secretly to curse him. When he came near, the caliph said to him, "Schoolmaster, how have we deserved wrongs and maledictions from you?" The old man pretended to be deaf. "I have been informed," said the caliph, raising his voice, "that you insult us by insolent and calumnious expressions." The schoolmaster replied: "I have only repeated what the *Coran* says." At the same time, turning his back, he said: "Here it is that beating is applied." The prince, not comprehending what this gesture meant, ordered him a sum of ten pieces of gold, and that he should be conjoined to do so no more. The man went home, and enclosed the ten pieces in a purse, saying, "This money I have got for aiding in the destruction of the palace of the usurpers." When he died, the purse was found in a coffin, with these words written on it: "These pieces of gold were given me by the usurper; I will that they be distributed in quarter-dirhems to the soldiers who shall assist in the demolition of the mosque of our enemies."

A poet, named Ebn-Kattar, had composed some verses in praise of the caliphs, Ismayl and Maad, whilst another poet, Sahal-Warrak, had dedicated his pen to bitter satires against these princes. The former was asked whether he or Sahal was the greatest poet; he replied: "I have shewn most talent when I have praised you, and he when he has attacked you." This reply excited the caliph's anger. Sahal, having learned this, was alarmed. He went to Abu-Ishak-Sebay (already mentioned), who asked the poet what was the object of his visit. Sahal told him the speech of Ebn-Kattar, when the sheikh desired him to recite his verses, saying, "Put your fingers into your ears, and raise your voice as high as you can." The poet did so, and repeated a long diatribe, remarkable for nothing but violence and exaggeration. When he had finished, the sheikh asked him what end he proposed in composing this satire. He replied that he had but God in view. The sheikh therefore ejaculated: "Oh God! bless this man; deliver him and preserve him from all accident!" The poet, on leaving him, met Abu'lkasem-Fezari, who said, "Your fate is decided!" Sahal began to tremble; but Fezari added, "About three hours ago, the sultan (caliph) sent you a robe of honour, and a purse." Sahal replied: "that was the very moment when I was with the Sheikh Sebay." According to another account, the caliph, having sent for the poet, desired him to recite the whole of his satire. Sahal endeavoured to excuse himself from this office, at least until the prince had given him a full guarantee. The pledge being given, he repeated the keen satire, and the caliph, so far from punishing him, loaded him with honours and presents. The credulous historian attributes this to the prayers of the sheikh. We may with more probability, ascribe it to the embarrassing position of the Fatimite caliph. His reign, it is true, had been marked by brilliant conquests; but he could not forget that, but a few years before, an alarming conspiracy had, by

arming the natives of the North of Africa, placed the empire of the Fatimites within a hair's breadth of ruin. Cairowan, like other cities in the territories of Moezz, was filled with daring and fanatical sheikhs, who did not disguise their hatred towards the new dynasty, and could, without much trouble, excite a revolution. On the other hand, Moezz was about to attempt the conquest of Egypt, and consequently his best troops would be led to a great distance from the capital. In such circumstances, rigorous measures might not merely have failed of their end, but have lighted up an extensive combustion, which he would, perhaps, have found it difficult to extinguish. Moezz deemed it, therefore, more politic to disarm his enemies by kindness, and conciliate the people by clemency, than by unseasonable vengeance (the peril having passed), to reinspire languishing hatred, and unchain resentments, which would be the more to be dreaded from the secrecy of their action.

One day, in the summer, Moezz summoned a great number of sheikhs of the Ketamah tribe. He received them in a hall, the wainscot of which was hung with felt. The prince was dressed in a plain robe; his other clothes were placed near him. In front was a writing-stand, with pens, and all round were open doors leading to libraries. "My brethren," said Moezz to these persons, "being here this morning, owing to the same cold we now experience, I said to the 'Mother of Amirs,' who is so situated at this moment as to hear what passes. Our brethren will perhaps imagine that, in such a day as this, following the example of the sovereigns of the world, the pleasures of the table, silks and furs, musk, wine and music, are the objects of our solicitude.* I thought myself, therefore, bound to call you hither, in order that you may satisfy yourself with your own eyes what are my pursuits when alone and concealed from public view. In fact, I am no otherwise distinguished from you than by certain prerogatives inherent in the rank I hold, and by the title of *imam*, which God has conferred upon me. I employ myself in reading letters, which I daily receive from eastern and western countries, and to which I reply with my own hand. I debar myself from all the pleasures of the world, and restrict my cares to protecting your lives, augmenting the population of your country, humbling your rivals, and extinguishing your enemies. O sheikhs, do you, when alone, follow the example I set you; beware of giving a loose to the dictates of pride and fury, lest God withdraw his gifts from you and confer them on another nation. Shew kindness to those who are under you, and who cannot come to me, as I evince unceasing kindness towards you, so that all, without exception, may enjoy those durable benefits, which goodness multiplies, and justice distributes, throughout the earth. Be moderate with regard to women; attach yourselves but to one; beware of yielding to cozeness, of increasing the number of your wives, and of surrendering yourselves to the passion they inspire; for it will embitter your domestic life, entail upon you real evils, enervate your strength, and weaken your faculties. One woman is sufficient for one man; and it is equally important to us, that you should preserve your minds and bodies in vigour. If you observe exactly what I prescribe, I shall indulge the hope that God will give us the conquest of the East, as he has granted us that of the West. Rise and depart. May God bestow his blessings upon you, and promote your undertakings!" The sheikhs thereupon withdrew.

In the Moharram of the year 350 (A.D. 961), the Greeks, commanded by Nicephorus Phocas, made the conquest of the island of Crete, gaining possession of the capital after a siege of ten months, alaying, says an historian,*

* Nowairi. Vide Cedrenus, Zonaras, Manasses, &c.

200,000 men, leading into captivity a like number of women and children, and consigning mosques and *Corans* to the flames. The fleet which conveyed them consisted of seven hundred ships. This year, Yali ben-Mohammed died at Cairowan, upwards of one hundred years of age.

The ensuing year, Moezz wrote to the governors commanding in the provinces from Barkah to Sejelmasah, as well as in Sicily, commanding them to have written down all the children of every rank and condition under their jurisdiction, so that they might be circumcised at the same time as the sons of the caliph. The number was prodigious. The first day of Rabi I., they began to circumcise the children of the prince, those of his family, of his secretaries, and of other persons attached to the caliph and the different state functionaries. All received presents and magnificent dresses. On the 11th of the same month, there was so great a crowd, that 150,000 men were suffocated to death.

If we credit a Persian historian,* this same year it was that the Greeks, with a numerous army, undertook the conquest of Crete. The governor, being wholly unable to repel so formidable an attack, declared himself a vassal of Moezz, implored his succour, and performed the *kotbah*, and struck many in the name of the prince. Moezz hastily despatched a body of troops to defend the island, and to check the Christians. The latter, ignorant of the arrival of this reinforcement, pressed their attacks with vigour. On a sudden, the army of Moezz fell upon them in the rear, and made a frightful carnage, a few Christians only escaping the sabres of the Musulmans. But these particulars, related by a recent historian, possess no feature of authenticity. Three years before their conquest of Crete, indeed, the Greeks made an unsuccessful expedition against the island.

Meanwhile, Moezz, whose states, as already observed, reached to the frontiers of Egypt, meditated seriously the union of this country to his empire. His mother entreated him to defer the project till she could make secretly the pilgrimage to Mecca. Her wish being complied with, she set out. On her arrival at Fostat, Kafur Ikshidi waited upon her, testified the utmost respect for her, loaded her with presents, and gave her an escort of troops. On her return, the princess urged her son to abandon his design against Egypt; and in fact, all hostile designs were suspended till the death of Kafur. But affairs had by that time changed, and circumstances could not be more favourable to the ambitious views of Moezz.

* Hayder—Razi.

(To be continued.)

Critical Notices, &c.

The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation; a Narrative. By JUSTUS. With an Appendix, containing Lord Glenelg's Despatches to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. London, 1837. Duncan.

THIS work exhibits a frightful picture of the wrongs and miseries which colonization, as it has been hitherto conducted, inflicts upon the aboriginal natives of the countries colonized. The Author, who has probably found it prudent to protect himself from the hostility of the Cape colonists by a pseudonyme, has collected, from sources of irrefragable authenticity, proofs of the wrongs of the Caffre nation, which make us rather wonder at their patience than at their savage revenge. We have so recently adverted to this subject, that we shall merely recommend this "documentary narrative" to every one who feels own character compromised in that of his country. We may recur to the subject again.

Humane Policy; or Justice to the Aborigines of New Settlements Essential to a due Expenditure of British Money, and to the best Interests of the Settlers; with Suggestions how to Civilize the Natives by an improved Administration of existing Means. By S. BANNISTER, late Attorney-general in New South Wales. London, 1830. Underwood.

MR. BANNISTER'S work, though it appeared seven years back, may be read as a prophetic commentary upon the preceding. In p. 242, he says that, having seized great part of the neutral ground (on the eastern frontier of the Cape), and pushed our limits to the Cradock and Keiskamma, "it is not improbable that, in another five years, the Orange River, from the Atlantic to its sources, and the perpetually flowing T'Ky from these sources to the ocean, will be found convenient boundaries against the various tribes, who will be more and more troublesome, if their and our true interests be not more successfully consulted." This has happened. His local experience, in Australia and in South Africa, exempts him from the stale charge of being a theoretical reformer; he has seen the working of colonization, as respects the aborigines, and can, therefore, describe its evils and best suggest their cure. His testimony in favour of the highly improveable character of the South African tribes is supported by facts, and by its concurrence with other evidence. His suggestions for a better system of dealing with the natives include—a better dispensation of justice—a due respect to their landed possessions—encouragement to and protection of equal trade—a proper system of political intercourse—support of well disposed colonists—instruction, religious and civil. Our readers will find, in this month's Journal, a plan suggested for organizing commerce with rude aboriginal nations, which will materially aid the sound, as well as benevolent views of Mr. Bannister.

Lives of the most eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Great Britain. Vol. II. being Vol. XCIII. of Dr. Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*. London, 1837. Longman and Co. Taylor.

THE history of the English stage is continued in this volume through the lives of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, and their less remarkable contemporaries. The biography of each writer is diversified with critical notices and occasional extracts from some of their pieces, and many incidents and anecdotes, illustrative of their characters and of the manners of the age, are interspersed, which render the narrative highly interesting. The Appendix contains, amongst other things, the masterly and unanswerable Essay of Dr. Farmer "On the Learning of Shakespeare."

The Basque Provinces, their Political State, Scenery, and Inhabitants; with Adventures amongst the Carlists and Christians. By EDWARD BELL STEPHENS, Esq. Two Vols. London, 1837. Whittaker.

MR. STEPHENS visited the Basque provinces, at the end of last year, as correspondent of the *Morning Post* newspaper. His descriptions of the country, and of the operations between the two factions which are still exhausting the resources and destroying the morale of that unhappy country, were admired for their graphic liveliness; in this work he has digested his correspondence, with his other memoranda, into a narrative, which must be read by readers of all sentiments in this country with pleasure. Mr. Stephens is a Carlist in opinion, and if his descriptions are just—and he has no apparent motive to misrepresent—we do not wonder at it.

A Hand-book for Travellers in Southern Germany; being a Guide to Bavaria, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria, &c., including Directions for Travellers, and Hints for Tours. With an Index Map. London, 1837. Murray.

THIS is another of Mr. Murray's admirable road-books, which no person who travels would be without if he knew their value and utility. They not only render him independent, but put him on his guard against imposition, whilst they supply him with hints and instructions, for want of which the major part of Englishmen who go abroad miss all the very objects worth leaving England to see. The *Hand-book for Southern Germany* is all that it can be wished it should be.

The Bard, by Gray; with Illustrations from Drawings by the Hon. Mrs. JOHN TALBOT. London, 1837. Van Voorst.

THE illustrations of this fine poem are drawn with great taste, and the engravers have done ample justice to them. That borrowed from Reynolds' picture of Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse, is quite out of place; it is no illustration of the poem, and is a mere copy.

Earl Harold: a Tragedy, in Five Acts. London, 1837. Fraser.

A very indifferent piece.

The Monetary Difficulties of America, and their probable Effects on British Commerce, considered. By DAVID SALOMONS, Esq. London, 1837. Richardson.

MR. SALOMONS traces the monetary difficulties of America to an uncontrolled paper-circulation, leading to speculation in land and the purchase of more goods than she can pay for; and he suggests that the credit of the Government and the States must be loaned, to enable the Americans to discharge their present obligations, and more speedily to enter into new engagements with us.

Practical Remarks on Infant Education, for the Use of Schools and Private Families.

By the Rev. Dr. MAYO and Miss MAYO. London, 1837. Seeley.

This is a publication issued by the Home and Colonial Infant School Society, whose system combines religious and moral with intellectual instruction; and this little work comprises the elements of the proper mode of tuition. Both the object and the work deserve, in our opinion, the warmest encouragement.

A History of British Birds. By WILLIAM YARRELL, F.L.S. Part I. London, 1837. Van Voorst.

This is another of those succinct and elegant works on British Zoology, which have recently appeared under the authorship of Professor Bell and Mr. Yarrell, and are so universally admired. The cuts and vignettes are *chef-d'œuvres* of wood-engraving.

The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion. Nos. I., II., III. By J. C. LONDON, F.L.S., H.S., &c.

Mr. London has added to his labours by undertaking a new work, as a guide in the choice of a suburban residence, or country-house. The directions he gives, the result of great experience and taste, are highly valuable. We are surprised at his amazing resources. The work will make a single volume.

Hebrew and English Spelling Book, adapted for the Use of Schools and Private Tuition. By J. L. LYON. London, 1837. Abruham's.

We like the system and arrangement of this little work, which will much facilitate the study of Hebrew: but the pronunciation, unfortunately, is not adapted to English students. This is a capital defect.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the Appeals from India, are about to be published in an authentic and available form. The reports of these decisions have been hitherto found, we believe, in no other publication than our own, which has given them regularly for some years past; but their importance fully justifies their appearance in a collective and authoritative shape. We have no doubt that the Court of Directors will extend their encouragement to this work, which cannot expect such general support from the community at large as more popular works; and that the learned author (already known by his excellent Privy Council Reports) will be induced to complete his series from the establishment of the Judicial Committee in 1834, whereby an important body of ruling decisions in Indian law will be accessible to the Courts abroad, to practitioners, and to suitors.

Proposals have been issued at Bombay for publishing, in three volumes, the *George Nameh*, containing an account of the principal events which have occurred in India since the arrival there of the Portuguese and the English, composed in Persian

verses, by the late Moollah Fyroz Bin Caos. The Government of Bombay have fixed the price at Rs. 60.

An edition of the Gospel by St. John, in the Japanese character, has been prepared by Mr. Gutzlaff, at Canton, intended for distribution in Japan, whither that enterprising missionary intends to proceed, for the purpose of distributing copies.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

LONDON.

Notes on Indian Affairs. By the Hon. F. J. Shore, Judge of the Civil Court and Criminal Sessions of the District of Furrukhabad. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s.

Travels in Circassia, Krim Tartary, &c., in 1836 7: Including a Steam Voyage down the Danube from Vienna to Constantinople, and round the Coast of the Black Sea. By Edmund Spencer, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo., with a new Map of the Black Sea, and Illustrations. 31s. 6d.

Travels in Palestine and Syria. By George Robinson, Esq. 2 vols. post 8vo., with Maps and Plans. 21s.

Turkey, Greece, and Malta. By Adolphus Slade, Esq., R.N., F.R.A.S. 2 vols. 8vo., with plates. 31s. 6d.

Illustrations of Jerusalem and Mount Sinai, from Drawings by F. Arundale; with his Tour. 4to. 25s.

Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petrea, and the Holy Land. By an American. 2 vols. 8vo., with a Map and Engravings. 10s. (Imported from America).

Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert; with an Account, Ancient and Modern, of the Oasis of Amun, and the other Oases now under the dominion of the Pasha of Egypt. By G. A. Hoskins, Esq. 8vo., with map and plates. 21s.

Wanderings in Greece. By George Cochrane, Esq., late of Queen's College, Cambridge. 2 vols. 8vo., with Illustrations. 24s.

The Shores of the Mediterranean. By F. II. Standish, Esq.; descriptive of the Author's Travels in the Year 1835. 8vo. 8s.

Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa, by the River Niger, in the Steam Vessels Quorra and Aburkah, in 1832, 1833, and 1834. By Macgregor Laird and R. A. K. Oldfield, surviving Officers of the Expedition. 2 vols. 8vo., with map and plates. 28s.

Narrative of Captain James Fawcaker's Travels on the Coast of Benin, West Africa. Edited by a Friend of the Captain. Post 8vo. 4s.

New South Wales; its Present State and Future Prospects, with Documentary Evidence and copious Index. By James Mac Arthur, Esq., of Camden, in that Colony. Small 8vo. 18s.

A Familiar Analysis of Sanscrit Prose. By C. P. Brown, of the Madras Civil Service. 8vo. 2s.

Manual of Universal History and Chronology. By H. H. Wilson, M.A., Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

The Book of the Patriarch Job, translated from the Original Hebrew, as nearly as possible in the Terms and Style of the authorized English Version. By S. Lee, D.D., &c. 8vo. 18s.

Imported from the East.

The Bengal Directory and Annual Register for 1837. 8vo. 10s. (Calcutta).

The Ans ul Musharrahin, or Anatomists' Vade Mecum; translated into Arabic from the Original of Robert Hooper, M.D., for the Use of the Mohammedan Colleges, under the Control of the General Committee of Public Instruction. By John Tytler, Esq., of the H.E.I.C. Medical Service. 4to. (Calcutta).

The Susruta, or System of Medicine taught by Dhanwantari, and composed by his Disciple Susruta. In Sanscrit. Vol. II. 8vo. (Calcutta).

Futua Qazee Khan on the Institutes of Abou Huneefa, collated with four Manuscripts, and corrected for the press by Moolvees Mahommed Moraud, Hafiz Ahmed Kubeer, and others. 4 vols. large 8vo. £5. (Calcutta, lithographed).

Alus Lyia, or Arabian Nights' Entertainments, in the Original Arabic; reprinted from the Edition published by Shuekh Umud, son of Moo-

humud of Shirwar in Yumum. The two vols. in one, containing 200 Nights. 8vo. 15s. (Calcutta, 1829, lithographed).

Ramayana, of Tulsi Das, in the Bhasha Dialect. 4to. 18s. (Calcutta, lithographed).

Bagho Buhar, in Hindce; Persian Character. 4vo. 12s. (Cawnpore, lithographed).

Anwar Soheerly, beautifully lithographed. 2 vols. 8vo. 36s. (Calcutta).

Dewan Hoffs, lithographed in a clear and beautiful character. 8vo. 12s. (Calcutta).

CONSTANTINOPLE.

Netadd ul-efkhar, or Izhar-cherhi, on the Art of Composition; by Adali Ali Effendi. 25 piastres.

Hall Esrar ul-Akhbar-u-Izhar el-Esrar, a Dictionary; by Zeju Zade Effendi. 25 piastres.

Tahfi-cherhi, a Persian Dictionary; by Sumbul Zade Vehbi Effendi. 45 piastres.

EAST-INDIES.

A Guide to the Revenue Regulations of the Presidencies of Bengal and Agra. 2 vols. royal 8vo. 20 Rs. (Serampore).

Elements of Logic, compiled for the Use of Youths in India, by John Leechman, A.M. 1 R. 8 annas. (Serampore).

Ramaseena, or a Vocabulary of the Peculiar Language used by the Thugs; with an introduction. By Capt. Sleeman. 8vo., with maps and sketches. 12 Rs. (Calcutta).

The Bagh-o-Buhar, in Roman Letters. 4 Rs.

The Gulistanah-Nisbat, or Nosegay of Pleasure; a collection of Poetry in Persian and Hindustani, selected from upwards of a hundred of the most celebrated authors, and arranged according to the subject or sentiment—well adapted for students of those languages. Compiled by Moonshee Munoo Lal. 4to. 16 Cos. Rs. (Calcutta).

Wuzzerally, and other Poems. By J. F. Delanougere. 12mo. 5 Sa. Rs. (Calcutta).

Literary Leaves; or Prose and Verse. By D. L. Richardson. 8vo. 5 Rs. (Calcutta).

A Practical Treatise on the Manufacture of Salt-petre. By John Stephenson. 8vo. 5 Rs.

Proposed Improvement in Modern Fortification. By Lieut. Edward Kaye, Bengal Artillery. 12mo., with three large plates in a separate book. 10 Rs. (Calcutta).

Some Remarks on the Opium trade with China. 12mo. 1 R. (Calcutta).

An Historical Review of the Political Relations between the British Government in India and the Empire of Ava; from the earliest date on record to the end of the year 1834; compiled by G. T. Bayfield, Esq., and revised by Lieut. Col. Burney, British Resident in Ava. Royal 8vo. 2 Rs.

A Spelling Book in English, Assamese, and Thai, prepared for the Use of the Sudiya Mission Schools, 12mo. (Sudiya, in Assam.)

The India Review of Works on Science, and Journal of Foreign Science and the Arts. Edited by F. Corby, Esq. Published monthly. 8vo. (Calcutta).

Indian Tables, by John Muller. 10 Co's. Rs.

The Acts of the Supreme Government for the year 1836. 4to. 4 Rs. (Calcutta).

An Oordoo Translation of the *Field Exercises of the British Army,* in Nagree and Roman Characters. By Arthur Hogg, Lieut. H.M. 4th Foot. 8 Rs. (Calcutta).

The History of India, from remote Antiquity to the Accession of the Mogul Dynasty; compiled for the use of Schools, by John C. Marshman. 18 Annas. (Serampore).

THE ABORIGINES OF BRITISH SETTLEMENTS.

THE Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed, during the last session of Parliament, "to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made, and to the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure them the due observance of justice, and the protection of their rights; to promote the spread of civilisation among them; and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion;" made a Report, in June last, which is just printed, wherein they have taken a very comprehensive view of this most important question, founded upon the evidence given before the Committee of 1836, as well as upon the facts stated by the witnesses examined by themselves. The observations of the Committee are so sound and just, and leave so little of the subject unexhausted, that we shall spare ourselves the labour of abstracting the mass of evidence, and adopt the excellent and impartial summary contained in the Report.

The Committee begin by remarking, that the situation of Great Britain brings her so frequently in contact with the uncivilized nations of the earth, that it is of deep importance to fix the rules of our conduct towards them; that, though we are apt to regard them as savages, and ourselves as exempt from obligations due to them as fellow-men, our responsibility is not altered, and that the policy of Great Britain in this particular has affected the interests and lives of thousands, and may yet influence the character and destiny of millions of the human race. No question, therefore, can be more momentous. They then lay down this position—that we are at least bound to do to the inhabitants of other lands, whether enlightened or not, as we should in similar circumstances desire to be done by; but beyond this, we are bound by two special considerations with regard to the uncivilized—that of our ability to confer upon them the most important benefits—and that of their inability to resist any encroachment on our part, however unjust.

The duty of regulating our relations with uncivilized nations by the laws of justice has been acknowledged in the abstract, but our practice, as a nation, has not always conformed thereto. The instructions of Charles II. to the Council of Foreign Plantations, distinctly recognize and enforce this duty, and there are declarations of our Legislature of a later date to the same effect; yet Acts have passed which dispose of lands without reference to the possessors and occupants: in the Act of 1834, empowering his Majesty to erect South Australia into a British province, the aboriginal natives are not once adverted to, and the country is said to consist of "waste and unoccupied land." The Committee then proceed to compare our actions with our avowed principles, "and to show what has been, and what will assuredly continue to be, unless strongly checked, the course of our conduct towards these defenceless people."

They consider it to be too easily susceptible of proof, that the intercourse of Europeans in general has been, unless when attended by missionary exer-

tions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations; that their territory has been usurped, their property seized, their numbers diminished, their character debased, and the spread of civilisation impeded; that European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them; and that our system has not only incurred a heavy load of crime, but a vast expenditure and loss.

The Report then embraces a review of our colonies in Asia, Africa, and America, premising that, in our intercourse with the natives of the places where we have planted colonies, the "plain and sacred right, that the native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible title to their own soil, seems not to have been understood" by the settlers; "Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors if they evinced a disposition to live in their own country."

The Committee begin with Newfoundland. There, as in other parts of North America, it seems to have been, for a length of time, a "meritorious act" to kill an Indian. In this colony, we may be said to have exterminated the natives; under our treatment, they continued rapidly to diminish, and it appears probable that the last of the tribe left at large, a man and a woman, were shot by two Englishmen in 1823.

The North American Indians, it is well known, though once composed of populous nations, and a noble people, are fast decreasing. The letter of a Chippeway chief to Lord Glenelg conveys the melancholy truth in simple and affecting language: "We were once very numerous, and owned all Upper Canada, and lived by hunting and fishing; but the white men, who came to trade with us, taught our fathers to drink the *fire-waters*, which has made our people poor and sick, and has killed many tribes, till we have become very small." A curious fact is noticed in the evidence, that some years ago, the Indians practised agriculture, and brought corn to our settlements when suffering from famine; but by driving them back, and introducing the fur trade, we have rendered them a wandering people, dwindled in numbers, in a wretched condition, and bartering their furs for rum. The "Six Nations," as they are called, are said to be "melting away before the advance of the white population;" and the Cree Indians, once a powerful tribe, have degenerated into a few families; in thirty or forty years, they have been reduced from eight or ten thousand to two or three hundred.

In British Guiana, South America, the Indian population is acknowledged to have been diminishing ever since the British came into possession of the colony, and especially within the last eight or ten years: the diminution is attributed in some degree to increased use of rum, which formed a part of the presents distributed by the British Government, which has made no effort whatever to convert them to Christianity, or to impart to them the arts of social life. Though six "Protectors of Indians" have been appointed in the colony, no injunctions to communicate either are given in their instructions; and "all reports agree in stating that these tribes have

been almost wholly neglected, are retrograding, and without provision for their moral or civil improvement." The anomalies which arise through the selfish policy pursued by us towards the aborigines are discovered when we attempt to apply our laws to them. Lord Goderich, in a letter to the Governor of British Guiana, on a reference as to sentence of death passed upon a native Indian for the murder of another, observes: "It is a serious consideration that we have subjected these tribes to the penalties of a code, of which they unavoidably live in profound ignorance; they have not even that conjectural knowledge of its provisions which would be suggested by the precepts of religion, if they had ever received the most elementary instruction in the Christian faith: they are brought into acquaintance with civilized life, not to partake its blessings, but only to feel the severity of its penal sanctions."

Of the Caribs, or native inhabitants of the West-Indies, the Committee remark that, "of them little more remains than the tradition that they once existed."

The system pursued towards the Australasians has been of the same character as that which has destroyed or deteriorated the finer races of the American continent. "The inhabitants of New Holland," the Committee observe, "in their original condition, have been described as the most degraded of the human race; but it is to be feared," they add, "that intercourse with Europeans has cast over their original debasement a yet deeper shade of wretchedness." These unoffending people have suffered in an aggravated degree from the planting amongst them of our penal settlements, in the formation of which it does not appear that the territorial rights of the natives were considered, and very little care has since been taken to protect them from violence and contamination. "The effects have consequently been dreadful beyond example, both in the diminution of their numbers and in their demoralization." The Report refers to the "many deeds of murder and violence" committed by convict stock-keepers, cedar-cutters, and other remote free settlers; to the many natives who have perished by the military; observing that, wherever Europeans meet them (citing the evidence of Bishop Broughton,) "they appear to wear out and gradually to decay; they appear actually to vanish from the face of the earth." The Bishop apprehends the total extinction, within a few years, of those most in contact with Europeans. He is of opinion, that this contact, so far from improving their moral character, "has even deteriorated a condition of existence, than which, before our interference, nothing more miserable could easily be conceived: while they gradually lose the better properties of their own character, they appear in exchange to acquire none but the most objectionable and degrading of ours." The Committee admit that the case of these poor people has not been "wholly overlooked" at home; and that, in 1825, instructions were issued to the Governor that they should be protected in the enjoyment of their possessions, preserved from violence and injustice, and that measures should be taken for their conversion to the Christian faith, and their advancement in civilisation. A few feeble efforts

have been made under these instructions, and have been "attended with some degree of utility," showing what might have been done on a larger scale and at an earlier period. But there is an arrear of evil for which atonement is almost hopeless, and which increases our obligation "to stop the continuance of iniquity." Where conciliation has been tried with these people, even with those who have proved under a different treatment most hostile (as at Raffles Bay), they have been found "a mild and merciful race." Lord Glenelg truly observes,* that the real causes of the hostilities between the colonists and the natives, "are to be found in a course of petty encroachments and acts of injustice committed by the new settlers, at first submitted to by the natives, and not sufficiently checked in the outset by the leaders of the colonists: hence has been generated in the minds of the injured party a deadly spirit of hatred and vengeance, which breaks out at length into deeds of atrocity which, in their turn, make retaliation a necessary part of self-defence."

In Van Diemen's Land, the event apprehended by Bishop Broughton has been consummated. "The natives, first, it appears, provoked by the British colonists, whose early atrocities and whose robberies of their wives and children excited a spirit of indiscriminate vengeance, became so dangerous, though diminished to a very small number, that their remaining in their own country was deemed incompatible with the safety of the settlement." In spite of the strong desire of the Government at home, responded to by the local Governor, to protect and conciliate them, such had been the nature of our policy; and the circumstances into which it had brought us, that "no better expedient could be devised than the catching and expatriating the whole of the native population." The whole of the aboriginal inhabitants (a few families, we believe) are now "domiciliated," with their own consent, on Flinders' Island, not a single native now remaining upon Van Diemen's Land. When Sir George Murray, in 1830, looked forward to the possible extinction, "at no distant period," of the native race of this island, he declared that the adoption of any line of conduct, having this for its avowed or secret object, "could not fail to leave an indelible stain upon the British Government." And what is the character of these people? Governor Arthur, writing on the subject of their removal to Lord Goderich, in 1833, says: "Undoubtedly, the being reduced to the necessity of driving a simple, but warlike, and, as it now appears, noble-minded race, from their native hunting-grounds, is a measure in itself so distressing, that I am willing to make almost any prudent sacrifice that may tend to compensate for the injuries that the Government is unwillingly and unavoidably made the instrument of inflicting."

The Committee next turn their view to those islands in the Pacific Ocean to which we resort for the purposes of trade, without planting colonies upon them; and here none of the considerations which are urged as palliatives of the cruel conduct of settlers towards the aborigines, or as reasons which extenuate that conduct, apply. We resort to these islands to trade

* Despatch to Governor Stirling, 23d July 1835.

with the natives on equal terms; we, therefore, virtually acknowledge their right to the soil, and their title to be treated as independent nations. Yet the evidence before the Committee induces them to declare that "it will be hard to find compensation to New Zealand, and to the innumerable islands of the South Seas, for the murders, the misery, the contamination, which we have brought upon them. Our runaway convicts," they add, "are the pests of savage as well as of civilized society; so are our runaway sailors; and the crews of our whaling-vessels, and of the traders from New South Wales, too frequently act in the most reckless and immoral manner when at a distance from the restraints of justice." It is stated that there have been not less than 150 or 200 runaways at once on New Zealand, "counteracting all that was done for the moral improvement of the people, and teaching them every vice." Mr. Ellis, the missionary, states that "the demoralization and impediments to the civilisation and prosperity of the people that have resulted from the activity of foreign traders in ardent spirits, have been painful in the extreme;" adding, that in one year, the sum of twelve thousand dollars was expended in Tahiti alone for ardent spirits. Mr. Busby, the British resident at New Zealand, states, that in April 1834, there were twenty-nine vessels at one time in the Bay of Islands, and that seldom a day passed without some complaint to him of "the most outrageous conduct" on the part of their crews, which he had not the means of repressing, since these reckless men totally disregarded his unsupported authority. Nor are the unoffending natives made merely the victims of the heedless vice and profligacy of their *civilized* visitors; the selfish principle of interest has encouraged their most barbarous propensities, in order to extract a profit therefrom. The tattooed heads of New Zealanders, being objects of curiosity, acquired a saleable value, and became articles of a disgusting traffic. This was bad enough; but as the ordinary supply did not keep pace with the growing demand, extraordinary stimulants were applied. Mr. Yate states "he has known people give property to a chief for the purpose of getting him to kill his slaves, *that they might have some heads to take to New South Wales!*" The traffic was put a stop to by Governor Darling,* on a representation from the Rev. Mr. Marsden, that the master of a vessel had set one tribe upon another, and supplied them with arms and ammunition; in the course of which conflict, "a Captain Jack purchased thirteen chiefs' heads, and bringing them back to the Bay of Islands, emptied them out of a sack in the presence of their relations." This was too much for even cannibals to tolerate, and the New Zealanders attempted to get possession of his vessel, and "put the laws of their country into execution." Mr. Yate mentions an instance of a captain going three hundred miles from the Bay of Islands to entice twenty-five sons of chiefs on board his vessel, and delivering them to the Bay of Islanders. with whom they were at war, merely to gain the favour of the latter and to obtain supplies for his vessel. Mr. Yate once took from the hand of a chief a packet of corrosive sublimate, which a captain had

* See the order, *As. Journ.* vol. vi. *As. Intell.* p. 74.

given to the savage in order to enable him to poison his enemies. The Committee quote from a letter addressed by the Rev. Mr. Marsden to Governor Darling, the particulars of "a most horrid massacre" perpetrated by the assistance of the *Elizabeth*, a British merchant brig, the master of which was named Stewart. They are barbarous enough to stagger credibility, and affix a stain upon the character of British merchant-seamen. The account of this dreadful affair, with the depositions of two of the seamen and two merchants of Sydney, who had been on board the brig (and which tallied with the statement of the New Zealanders), Governor Darling sent to Lord Goderich, remarking that "the sanguinary proceedings of the savages could only be equalled by the atrocious conduct of Captain Stewart and his crew, who became instrumental to the massacre (which could not have taken place but for his agency), in order to obtain a supply of flax." A prosecution was commenced against this man, who dishonours the name of Briton; but the seamen, who might have been witnesses, were suffered to leave the country, and "through some unexplained legal difficulty," the prosecution fell to the ground. Well might Lord Goderich say, "It is impossible to read without shame and indignation the details which these documents disclose: the unfortunate natives of New Zealand, unless some decisive measures of prevention are adopted, will, I fear, be shortly added to the number of those barbarous tribes who, in different parts of the globe, have fallen a sacrifice to their intercourse with civilized men, who bear and disgrace the name of Christians."

The Committee continue, through several pages of their Report, to adduce instances* of the utter disregard of natural justice, the atrocious crimes, the reckless profligacy, which characterise the intercourse between our traders and the natives of Polynesia, who, in return, are incited to inflict vengeance in conformity with their own maxims of retaliation, and these deeds are blazoned forth to the world as if they were spontaneous acts of unprovoked cruelty. The men who thus deal with the islanders, who labour with the most subtle malice to undo all that missionary labours and the zeal of better spirits may have effected in subduing barbarous customs, humanizing savage manners, and diffusing the seeds of civilisation—who encourage the practice of Pagan vices and introduce their own—are the first to declaim on the fruitlessness of missionary labours, and the impracticability of civilizing savages. Their notion of the true system of civilisation is disclosed in the remark of a Captain Guard, master of a British barque, that "a musket-ball for every New Zealander, was the best mode of civilizing the country."

The Committee conclude their details under this head with the following remark: "We have felt it our duty to advert to these glaring atrocities, perpetrated by British subjects, but we must repeat that acts of this nature form but the least part of the injuries which we have inflicted on the South Sea islanders. The effects of our violence are as nothing compared to the

* Some of these are recorded in our Journal, which contains lamentable proofs of the systematic indifference to crime which, in that part of the world, attends commercial intercourse, which is lauded as the harbinger of the social arts and virtues.

diffusive moral evil which we have introduced ; and many as are the lives of natives known to have been sacrificed by the hands of Europeans, the sum of these is treated as bearing but a trifling proportion to the mortality occasioned by the demoralization of the natives." They follow up this dreadful reflection with some facts stated by the Rev. Mr. Ellis, who observes that the introduction of diseases, of ardent spirits, and of fire-arms, by Europeans, has produced a destruction of human life in these islands which is truly awful. When Captain Cook visited the Sandwich Islands, he estimated the population at 100,000. In 1823, there was not in the entire group above 150,000. In the South Sea islands, Captain Cook estimated the population of Tahiti at 200,000, which was perhaps too high. When the missionaries first arrived, there were not more than 16,000, and after they had been there fourteen years, the entire population had been reduced by European diseases, ardent spirits, and fire-arms, to 6,000 or 8,000. Since Christianity has been introduced, the population has increased one-fourth. The Rev. Mr. Williams, a very intelligent and observant missionary, makes the astounding declaration, that the effect of the intercourse of Europeans in general with these people, savages and cannibals as they were before we visited them, has been, with few exceptions, "decidedly detrimental, both in a moral and civil point of view."

The last quarter to which the Committee direct their attention is South Africa, and the picture here is more appalling than the preceding ; because, whilst we see the operation of similar causes in tyrannizing over and oppressing uncivilized people, we have in addition the revolting spectacle of large classes, including men of cultivated minds and otherwise humane character, officers of the British army, and Christian missionaries, standing forth as the apologists of such tyranny and oppression, labouring to blacken the African native character, and to bring odium upon its advocates. Common charity induces us to believe that the persons to whom we refer are sincere in the opinions they avow, and we cannot detect in the most respectable any motive for countenancing a course of action which they know to be unjust ; we can, therefore, only solve the problem, why they should be unconsciously the apologists of injustice and cruelty, by reference to that obliquity of judgment which is too frequent where the mind becomes familiar with the striking contrast between civilized and barbarous people, in power, intellect, and manners. The conclusion is always ready to obtrude itself, that savages are of a different nature from the human race ; that their mental perceptions partake of brute instinct, and that they must be dealt with not as men, but as beasts. Well does the writer recollect, though more than thirty years ago, during the debates on the Slave-Trade Abolition Bill, in the House of Commons, a gentleman conversant with the negro character, gravely justify the use of the cart-whip, in the management of slaves on a plantation, by analogy with its application to horses in this country—and well does he recollect Mr. Sheridan's indignant and impassioned rebuke.

The Report, in this part, presents a sketch of some of the tribes that have held possession of South Africa. The European colony in that

country was, in the beginning of the last century, confined to within a few miles of Cape Town. It now includes more square miles than are to be found in the whole United Kingdom; and, with regard to the natives of great part of this immense region, it is stated, that "any traveller, who may have visited the interior of this colony little more than twenty years ago, may now stand on the heights of Albany, or in the midst of a district of 42,000 square miles, on the north side of Graaf Reinet, and ask the question: where are the aboriginal inhabitants of this district which I saw here on my former visit to this country? without any one being able to inform him where he is to look for them to find them."

The aborigines of this country may be classed under two distinct races—Hottentots and Caffres. The first are subdivided into "tame" or colonial Hottentots, and wild Hottentots, Bushmen, or Bosjesmen. The appellation "Caffres" is generally used to designate the three contiguous tribes of Amakosa, Amatembce (or Tambookies), and Amaponda (or Mambookies): the Amakosas comprehend the tribe who inhabit the country between the Kei and Keiskamma, and lie nearest to the colony along the chain of mountains stretching from the sources of the Kat river to the sea. When the Cape was discovered by the Portuguese, the Hottentots were numerous, and rich in cattle; and it was observed of them, that "they kept the law of nations better than most civilized people." The Dutch formed their first settlement in 1652, and their governor, Van Riebeck, in his journal, shows pretty clearly the true buccaneering spirit. He speaks of the thousands of fine cattle belonging to the Hottentots; of the ease with which the Dutch might have taken ten thousand head from them; adding, that it could be done at any time, "and even more conveniently, because they will have greater confidence in us: with 150 men, ten thousand or eleven thousand head of black cattle might be obtained without danger of losing one man; and many savages might be taken without resistance, in order to be sent as slaves to India, as they still always come to us unarmed."

Under these ominous circumstances did the intercourse between the Europeans and South Africans commence. The wealth of the latter was their only crime; the confidence they reposed in the former offered the means of oppressing them. "The system of oppression thus begun," says the Report, "never slackened till the Hottentot nation were cut off, and the small remnant left were reduced to abject bondage." When the English took possession of the Cape, they found them the actual, though not the nominal, slaves of the boors, and as such we suffered the boors to retain them. Every obstacle continued to be opposed to their civil or moral advancement, and as late as 1828, in the law passed by General Bourke for their relief, it is stated, that doubts existed as to the competency of the Hottentots (the original possessors of the whole soil) to purchase or possess land in the colony. By the 50th ordinance, their freedom was declared, and their civil rights were recognised; it rescued this "free people" from a state of utter degradation, to which even (Colonel Wade, a hostile witness, says) "the state of the slaves was a thousand times preferable in every point of view."

The Bushmen, who disdained the bondsmen-like condition of the subjugated Hottentots, and who chose rather to obtain a precarious subsistence in the fields or forests, carried on a predatory warfare against the oppressors of their race, "and in return were hunted down like wild beasts." Captain Stockenstrom states that, as the white colonists encroached more and more on the lands of the natives, the deeds of revenge on both sides became more desperate and bloody, "until the extermination of the enemy appeared even to the government the only safe alternative, at least it became its avowed object, as the encouragement given to the hostile expeditions, the rewards of the successful commanders of the same, and many documents still extant, clearly demonstrate." The contest being so unequal, the colonial limits rapidly widened; whilst the thinness of the white population tempted and rewarded incursions upon them. In 1774, "an order was issued for the extirpation of the whole of the Bushmen, and three commandos (a term with which our readers must be familiar), or military expeditions, were sent out to execute it. "The massacre at this time was horrible;" and Mr. Barrow records that, "it came to be considered a meritorious act to shoot a Bushman." Twenty years later, it was the practice every year for large commandos, consisting of 200 or 300 armed boors, to be sent against the Bushmen, many hundred of whom were killed, mostly women and children.* These commandos were authorized in 1795, by Lord Macartney.

Colonel Collins, speaking of the Bushmen of the north-eastern frontier, in 1809, whom he describes as "a people not inferior in natural endowments to any upon the face of the globe," states, that a man, who was represented as an "estimable character," declared to him that, within six years, parties under his orders had either killed or taken 3,200 of these unfortunate creatures; and another said he had assisted in the destruction of 2,700. When the government, instead of meditating the total extinction of the race, enjoined (in 1835) a milder system, the Bushmen became the willing herdsmen of the boors, and "wherever they are well treated, they are described to have made faithful servants." But the change of policy seems to have come too late; for not only is the country almost cleared of the Bushmen, but the boors cannot wholly alter their views, and buy or kidnap their children, turning the parents off the lands. Dr. Philip says he spent, in 1832, seventeen days in the country between the Snawbergen and Orange river (comprehending 40,000 square miles); travelling over it in different directions; he found that the Bushmen had been expelled, except those in the service of the boors. "In the whole of my journey," he says, "I met with two men and one woman only of the free inhabitants, who had escaped the effects of the commando system, and they were travelling by night, and concealing themselves by day, to escape being shot like wild beasts."

* Mr. Maynier, who stated these facts to the Commissioners of Inquiry, adds, that infants too young to be of use as bondsmen to the farmers, had their brains dashed out against the rocks, "to save powder and shot."

One form of oppression practised by the boors is the intrusion of their flocks and herds into the Hottentot country. The Griquas have been subject to this visitation. In 1834, there were said to be 1,500 boors on the other side of the Orange river, mostly in the Griqua country, with at least 1,500,000 sheep, cattle, and horses, destroying their pastures, and, in many instances, their corn-fields. The evil has been increasing for years; and when the Griquas remonstrate, they are threatened with the loss of their country itself. Yet the Griquas, less warlike than the Caffres, have not expelled the intruders, as they would have been justified in doing, by violence. "It is a cruel robbery, followed by starvation and death in its most appalling shapes; yet these men complain that cattle are occasionally stolen from them by the natives beyond the boundary." The indifference of the government to these acts of injustice is attributed to inability to prevent them. An officer in the Kat river settlement was told that the boors were daily passing the boundary to intrude into the native territory: his answer was, "I know that, but I cannot stop them; and besides, if they were to stop on their places, their cattle and all would perish for want of grass." What would be thought of such a plea urged by a native tribe? The state of the colonial law allowed an impunity to crime in the ultra-colonial territory by boors and wandering traders; for it was not till August 1836 that offences committed beyond the colonial boundary were cognizable and punishable by our courts of justice.

The report then takes a retrospective view of our relations with the Caffre race, a people superior, perhaps, to the Hottentots in valour and intelligence.

The Gamtoos river had been for a considerable period, under the Dutch government, considered the limit of the colony. Previous to our occupation of the Cape, in 1780, the Dutch governor, Van Plattenburg, fixed upon the Great Fish River as the utmost prospective limit of the colony on the eastern frontier; the Caffres being still left in possession of the country. In 1798, Lord Macartney recognised this boundary, strictly forbidding the colonists to pass it. The reason assigned in his proclamation was, that in consequence of no exact limits having been fixed between the colony and the Caffre and Hottentot countries, the colonists in the more distant parts "have united in injuring the peaceful possessors of those countries, and, under pretence of bartering cattle with them, reduce the wretched natives to misery and want, which at length compels them to the cruel necessity of having recourse to robbing, and various other irregularities, in order to support life." The Committee remark the uniformity of conclusion which is drawn to the prejudice of the poor natives from opposite premises. In this proclamation, their lands are pronounced forfeited, because we have been the oppressors, and by seizing their property have reduced them to become plunderers to avert starvation. At other times, lands are wrested from the aboriginal tribes, because they make inroads upon us, and are troublesome neighbours. So convenient is the logic by which interest justifies oppression.

Up to 1811, the Caffres were in possession of the whole of Albany; in that year they were expelled by a large force, at a great sacrifice of life on both sides: the Commissioners of Inquiry notice the *expense* of this war as a great evil. It had other results; first, a succession of new wars, not less expensive and still more sanguinary; second, the loss of thousands of good labourers to the colonists (attested by adverse witnesses); third, the checking of civilisation and trade for twelve years.

The commando system still continued; that is, armed assemblages, sometimes under the direction of no higher functionary than a provisional field-cornet, an inhabitant of the lowest class, were allowed to enter the Caffre territory in search of cattle alleged to have been stolen, and make reprisals on the first kraal they came to; so that, in nine cases out of ten, the innocent were punished for the guilty. In 1813, a commando, under Col. Brereton, took thirty thousand head of cattle from the Caffres. In 1833, Sir Lowry Cole empowered any field-cornet, or deputy field-cornet (persons often connected with the boors), to whom a boor may complain that he had lost cattle, to send a party to recover it. The frequency of these retaliatory expeditions was so great, that one of the witnesses (a military officer) states that he has known the junior officers of his corps be out four times in the week on patrol parties, a sort of commando. This system of taking Caffre cattle is considered by Capt. Stockenstrom, the late commissioner of the frontier, and now Lieutenant-governor, to have been the great source of misfortune, because very seldom the real perpetrators can be found. The patrol is at the mercy of the farmer; "on coming up to the first Caffre kraal, the Caffre, knowing the purpose for which the patrol comes, immediately drives his cattle out of sight; we then use force, and collect those cattle, and take the number said to be stolen, or more; this the Caffres naturally, and, as it always appeared to me, justly, resist; they have nothing else to live on, and if the cows be taken away, the calves perish, and it is a miserable condition in which the Caffre women and children, and the whole party, are left; that resistance is construed into hostility, and it is almost impossible then to prevent innocent bloodshed." This gentleman adds, that the Caffres told him, that for every cow taken from their country, we made a thief; and he attributes to this seizure of Caffre cattle the disturbances and the backward state of improvement on the frontier. "It is in vain to attempt to civilize and Christianize, if people have nothing to eat." In putting a stop to the commando system, Mr. Secretary Stanley declared there were reasons authorizing the presumption that these commandos "have been marked with acts of atrocious cruelty."

In 1817, we entered into a treaty with Gaika, an Amakosa chief of importance: for we have no repugnance to entering into treaties with these native chiefs, and regarding them as independent princes, when it suits our convenience to do so. T'Slambie, another chief, soon after quarrelled with Gaika, and it suited our convenience to take part with Gaika (though we had no business to interfere in the quarrel), and defeated his enemies,

of whom a great number were slain, "and we brought off an immense drove of cattle, which we divided with our ally." This interference, of course, involved us in a direct war with the Caffres, who, in 1819, retaliated upon our colony by a desperate incursion. They were driven back with slaughter, and we then extorted from Gaika the nominal verbal surrender of a large and rich portion of Caffreland, for no other apparent reason than that he, whom we chose to consider as the only responsible chief, "failed in preventing the incursion, though he was then our ally, and aided us in repelling it." Is it possible to conceive that, if our Colonial Government so far imposed upon itself as to regard this as a just proceeding, the untutored Africans could fall into the same hallucination?

Our boundary line was thus extended to the Keiskamma, adding about two thousand square miles more to territory already wrongfully acquired. But as Gaika had not, and did not profess to have, a right to dispose of this land, it was at first called "neutral territory," but it soon suited our convenience to consider it as ceded: "A discussion with the Caffres," as a witness observes, "was not then treated with so much formality as at present." The Caffres were expelled from this territory, and amongst them the chief Macomo, on the ground of thefts of cattle, and in Macomo's case, of his alleged oppression of the Tambookies, or Anatembee Caffres. This chief is described by some of the witnesses, as a gallant, bold fellow, an excellent friend, but a dangerous enemy; as a most intelligent and acute man; a man of great mind; a just man; a man of considerable natural talent, and desirous of promoting civilisation and improvement. The act of expulsion, which he considered unjust, and the unnecessarily harsh and violent mode in which it was carried into effect, produced, according to the testimony of an adverse witness, a rankling spirit of enmity against the colonists in Macomo's mind. And who can wonder at it?

Gaika had expressly stipulated that the basin of the Chumie river should be still reserved to the Caffres; but, as it suited our convenience to remove them from thence, that part of the treaty was violated without compunction, and they were removed therefrom. In 1833, Tyalie and his people were removed from the Muncassana, but not beyond the boundary, and Colonel Wade, considering this an error, without consulting the proper authorities, gave orders that this chief, who had quietly submitted to the first removal (though termed by the Colonel "the most troublesome chief on the frontier"), should be further removed. Had an error been really committed, this vacillation must have given to our proceedings, in the eyes of the Caffres, as Lord Glenelg observed, "an appearance of caprice and a confusion perfectly unintelligible." We cannot in this place refrain from citing the words of a witness on this point; and it is Captain R. S. Aitchison, who was the officer employed to remove Macomo, Botman, and Tyalie from the "neutral" territory.

Will you state what took place when you were ordered to remove Macomo and Tyalie?—Colonel England sent for me (I was absent about thirty miles from Graham's Town), and stated that he had received from Cape Town orders

to remove those chiefs beyond the boundary, and that I was named for that duty. He then, as I had been a long time in the country and understood these matters perfectly, asked me the policy of that step, and we agreed that, as it was the time of the year when the Caffre corn and pumpkins were in a forward state, if this could be put off for a few months, it would be an act of charity towards the Caffres. Viewing it as I did, he did not act upon the order, but by the post of the following day wrote to say that, such being the case, he had submitted again the policy of allowing the Caffres to remain until they had reaped their harvest, and hoped it would be approved of by the governor.* By return of post, which was about fourteen days from that date, a peremptory order arrived for the removal of the Caffres. I was named, and ordered to repair to Fort Willshire, to take upon myself the command of that post, and to superintend the clearing of the country. The force that was then put under my charge, was quite inadequate to effect this purpose by force. I sent for Macomo and for Botman, and as I had known them many years, I told them, and in fact they expressed great confidence, knowing that I had never deceived them in any way whatever, and never promised them that which I could not perform. I sent for them and explained the case. At first they refused positively to go : I then pointed out, as well as I could, the absurdity of objecting to go. Macomo said he knew very well that I could not force him; I said of course that I must do it, but that if he would go quietly, and advise all his people to do the same, Colonel Somerset might be expected very shortly, and also the new governor, and that his good behaviour on this occasion would insure him my support, and that I would not fail, if he went quietly, to mention his conduct to both when they arrived. After many hours, I may say, almost of needless conversation upon the subject, he at last said that he would believe me, and would go. I gave him two days to complete the evacuation of the country, and then I went with the whole force I had, and did not find a single Caffre.

Had they left any property ?—All the corn, which was quite green, all the gardens, and all the pumpkins, and everything was left ; no animals were left.

In this conversation that you had with Macomo, did he claim his right to stay ?—No ; but he distinctly said, which we found out afterwards to be the case, that he could not make out the cause of his removal, and asked me if I would tell him ; and I really could not : I had heard nothing—no cause was ever assigned to me for the removal ; and, moreover, I met a boor who lived close to where Macomo was, and he said, “ Pray what are you removing these people for ? ” I said, “ My orders are to do so. ” He said, “ I am very sorry for it, for I have never lost, so long as they have been here, a single beast ; they have even recovered beasts for me. ”

Then Macomo behaved, in this interview between you and him, very well ?—At first, as may be supposed, he was very violent ; the man was very much irritated. I could not assign any reason why he was ordered to be removed ; and he absolutely stated, “ I will allow you to inquire at Fort Willshire, whether or not I have not sent in horses and cattle re-captured from other Caffres, which had been stolen from the colony. ”

Did you see any instance of great distress among them ?—Unfortunately, it so happened for them that it was a particularly dry season ; the grass, which generally is very abundant, was very scarce indeed, and also water ; and they were driven out of a country that was both better for water and grass than the one they were removed to, which was already thickly inhabited. They took me

* The acting governor was Colonel Wade.

over the country they were to inhabit, and I assure you there was not a morsel of grass upon it more than there is in this room; it was as bare as a parade.*

Yet there are some respectable individuals in the colony who profess to think that the last Caffre war was unprovoked on our part! "We might find cause for regret in these changes," says the Report, "if only on the ground of the fickleness of policy which they exhibit; but when we couple with them the fact mentioned by Mr. Gisborne, that one only of these removals had produced in the minds not only of the chiefs immediately concerned, but in that of Hintza, feelings of distrust and irritation, we cannot but consider these repetitions of the grievance as one of the principal causes of the calamity which has befallen the colony." The mode of removal seems to have astonished Colonel Wade himself, who was a witness to it. He says: "The people were all in motion, carrying off their effects, and driving away their cattle towards the drifts of the river, and to my utter amazement, the whole country around and before us was in a blaze. Presently, we came up with a strong patrol of the mounted rifle corps, which had, it appeared, come out from Fort Beaufort that morning; the soldiers were busily employed in burning the huts and driving the Caffres towards the frontier."

We pass over the lamentable picture drawn by Dr. Philip and other witnesses, of the state of the Caffres after this expulsion and the destruction of their property, subjoining only this passage from the evidence of the former, giving an account of an interview he had with Macomo, respecting a claim for cattle made by Col. Somerset, which the chief insisted he was not answerable for:

Having given this reply, and being conscious that he had done everything in his power, and seeing no end to the demands made upon him, he received this last demand as a proof that his ruin was resolved upon; for he had just been told at Fort Willshire that a commando was about to enter his country to take the 480 head of cattle, and this threat seemed to add greatly to his distress. The chief then entered upon further detail of his grievances, and declared that it was impossible for human nature to endure what he had to suffer from the patrol system. I reasoned with him, and did all in my power to impress upon his mind the importance of maintaining peace with the colony. I stated again that I had reason to believe that the Governor, when he came to the frontier, would listen to all his grievances, and treat him with justice and generosity. "These promises," he replied, "we have had for the last fifteen years;" and, pointing to the huts then burning, he added, "things are becoming worse: these huts were set on fire last night, and we were told that to-morrow the patrol is to scour the whole district, and drive every Caffre from the west side of the Chumie and Keiskamma at the point of the bayonet." He asked to what extent endurance was to be carried? and my reply was, "If

* Sir Benjamin D'Urban thus speaks of the November expulsion:—"For many years past, the tribes of the chiefs Macomo, Botman, and Tyalle had been allowed by the colonial government to reside and graze their cattle immediately within (on the western side of) the River Keiskamma, upon the Gags, Chumie, and Muncaasana. In November of the last year, the acting governor, under the impression that this indulgence had been abused (which probably it might have been to a certain extent), ordered their immediate expulsion from the whole of that line, and they were expelled accordingly. This unfortunately happened when a period of severe drought was approaching; so that these tribes, I am afraid, but too certainly suffered much loss in their herds in consequence."—Despatch 28th Oct. 1834, Cape Papers, Part II. 1835, No. 252, p. 103.

they drive away your people at the point of the bayonet, advise them to go over the *Kaiskamma* peaceably; if they come and take away cattle, suffer them to do it without resistance; if they burn your huts, allow them to do so; if they shoot your men, bear it till the Governor come, and then represent your grievances to him, and I am convinced you will have no occasion to repent of having followed my advice." He was deeply affected, and the last words he said to me were (grasping my hand), "I will try what I can do."

Then followed the late war, which cost this country a quarter of a million sterling, the destruction of much property, and the loss of many lives—an event easily traceable to its cause, namely (in the words of the Report), "the systematic forgetfulness of the principles of justice in our treatment of the native possessors of the soil."

The rest of the Report is devoted to an exemplification of the effects of fair dealing and Christian instruction on aborigines, and to suggestions for a system of policy on our part towards them, which shall benefit both parties. To this portion we may apply ourselves on a future occasion. We are aware that we have extended this article beyond its due limits; but a mere cursory notice of the horrors detailed in this body of evidence would have betrayed a want of sympathy and a laxity of moral duty. The public at home seem to be so little aware of what has been doing in our colonial possessions, and the colonists themselves appear to be so blind to the character of the acts committed before their eyes, and to their necessary consequences, that an array of facts like these is necessary to alarm both. It will be seen that the treatment of aborigines by Europeans has been the same in all parts of the world; that it is consequently to be traced to motives and principles of uniform operation. When laws impose no restriction upon human actions, selfishness will predominate in civilized as well as savage minds; the interest of Europeans, in their intercourse with rude people, has appeared in all ages to be promoted by their oppression; and to this motive and principle are and have been sacrificed the dictates of humanity and justice. To the dismal history of Spanish atrocities in America will be added a new and comprehensive chapter on British cruelty, treachery, and tyranny, perpetrated upon nations equally unoffending, in all parts of the globe.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF
HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, ESQ.,

BY HIS SON, EDWARD COLEBROOKE, ESQ.*

Mr. Colebrooke was born in London in 1765. His father, Sir George Colebrooke, Bart., was several times Chairman of the East-India Company. As a boy, he was of a quiet, retiring disposition; was distinguished for an extreme fondness for reading; and had a wish to be placed in the church. He pursued his early studies under a tutor, at his father's house, till the age of fifteen; at which time he was as far advanced as many are when they leave the universities. At seventeen, he was appointed to a writership in the civil service of Bengal; and embarked at Portsmouth, soon after the sinking of the *Royal George* at Spithead, which melancholy circumstance he witnessed.

On his reaching India, he was placed in a subordinate capacity in the Board of Accounts, which he held during the remainder of his stay at Calcutta. It is singular that one who ultimately became master of perhaps the most difficult of all Oriental tongues, should have told his father, in a letter written during his first year's sojourn in India, that there was no danger of his applying too intensely to languages; that the Persian was too dry to entice; and that he sought the acquisition of that and the Hindustani very leisurely.

Mr. Colebrooke's first letters from India expressed something of discontent at his situation. The discussions which were then going on at home relative to the constitution of our Indian empire, and the general opinion which obtained that the Company would be deprived of their political patronage, seem to have led him to think of returning to Europe, and seeking a new profession; for a while he entertained thoughts of turning farmer, and settling in the country. In one of his letters, he remarked that it was easy to make oneself comfortable in India; but that it was seldom done, because of the notion of returning early to Europe. He observed, also, that India was no longer a mine of gold; every one was disgusted; and all, whose affairs permitted, abandoned it as soon as possible. In a subsequent letter, however, he retracts some of his complaints against the country, his situation, &c., and admits that the only solid objection to India is its great distance from Europe.

In 1786, he was appointed Assistant Collector of Revenue in Tirhoot; in which department he remained for nearly nine years. While there he acquired a great taste for field sports, and prided himself on being an excellent shot; nor did he relinquish those animating pursuits till he was removed to a station where no game was to be found. While at Tirhoot, his sporting and official avocations left him little time for literary pursuits; and although his father constantly pressed him for information regarding the literature and religion of the East, the son as constantly pleaded want of time for such investigations. Some of the excuses given in his letters, at this period, are remarkable, as coming from one who was afterwards so zealous an Orientalist. He styles Wilkins, "Sanscrit mad;" the *Asiatic Miscellany*, "a repository of nonsense;" and the Institutes of Akbar, "a dunghill, in which perhaps a pearl or two might be found." The bent of his mind, at this time, inclined towards the politics of India.

In 1789, he was made Assistant Collector at Purneah; his efficiency and assiduity in this office soon brought him into notice; and not long afterwards,

* Abridged from a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in July last.

he was appointed by the Government one of a deputation for investigating the resources of that collectorate, in reference to the permanent settlement.

His first scheme of authorship was a work on the Agriculture of Bengal; and one of his letters, dated 1790, details the objects of inquiry on that subject to which he had directed his attention. In this work he was assisted by Mr. Anthony Lambert; but the greater portion of it was written by Mr. Colbrooke. The production contained some severe strictures on the commercial policy of the Company; and it was not without considerable hesitation that Mr. Colbrooke consented to its appearance.

It was not till the eleventh year of his residence in India, that he embarked on a course of study which, with the exception of his public duties, engaged the largest share of his attention till his return to England. But the difficulties he encountered in his first attempts to acquire the Sanscrit language were such, that he had twice abandoned the attempt before he finally succeeded. In 1794, while collector of the station of Nutton, he undertook the translation, from the original Sanscrit, of a copious Digest of Hindu Law, which had been compiled under the directions of Sir William Jones. This task cost him two years of unremitted exertion, and fully stamped his reputation as a Sanscrit scholar.

A letter to his father in 1797, discloses the ambition he then had for a seat in the Supreme Council. In opening his views on this subject, he modestly remarks, that he must betray some self-conceit, which he would not exhibit to any one but his indulgent parent, who, he says, will have learned from the occasional thanks bestowed upon him in the progress of his official duties, and from other channels, that he stood high in esteem both with the members of the Government and with the public at large. However, after his appointment, in 1801, to the office of chief judge of the High Court of Appeal at Calcutta, he no longer manifested the same eagerness to rise to the higher post; and even declared himself satisfied with the situation he then held, and which, being of a judicial nature, furnished employment of all others the most congenial to his tastes and pursuits. He had studied civil and Hindu law throughout his whole life; and as his judicial duties recurred at stated times and for specific periods, his leisure could be more regularly devoted to literature and science than while holding the office of collector of revenue. Towards the close of 1805, he was elevated to the situation to which he had looked during the past ten years with alternate hope and indifference; holding at the same time his office as chief judge of the Sudder Dewanny. Agreeably to the rules of the service, he vacated his seat at the Supreme Council at the end of five years.

In 1798, he was nominated by the Government to proceed on an embassy to Nagpoor, where he remained about two years; during which time he lost no opportunity of pursuing a varied and extensive course of study in Oriental literature and the natural sciences. He had already contributed many papers on these subjects to the *Asiatic Researches*. The religious ceremonies of the Hindus had especially attracted his attention.

On the establishment of the college for the education of the civil servants at Calcutta, Mr. Colbrooke received the appointment of Sanscrit Professor. The office was honorary in its nature; nor did he deliver any oral instruction; but the circumstance of his connexion with the college led to the compilation of his Sanscrit Grammar. The first volume of this work was published in 1805; but in consequence of the appearance of two other grammars of the

same language, one by Dr. Carey, and another by Dr. Wilkins, the further prosecution of the work was abandoned.

In 1810 he published his translations of the two celebrated treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance—a work which he himself valued as much as (if not more than) any other of his literary labours of a legal nature, but which, it appears, was never in much request by the public; a circumstance at which he expressed some surprise.

During the last few years of his residence in India, he was much interested in the inquiries which the doubtful question of the height of the Himalaya mountains had given rise to. The subject had, indeed, engaged his attention for some time; and the body of evidence by which he sought to determine the problem was the accumulation of twenty years. He had always considered that the height of these mountains had been greatly underrated. Subsequent surveys and admeasurements confirmed his assumptions, and demonstrated that one of the high peaks seen from the plains of Goruckpoor was of the amazing height of 27,550 feet. Mr. Colebrooke took a very lively interest in the progress of these investigations; and the final establishment of the fame of the Himalayas was to him a continued source of satisfaction and delight.

In 1810 he married Miss Elizabeth Wilkinson. Their union, however, was of short duration. The loss of one of their children, and the constant anxiety Mrs. Colebrooke suffered during its long illness, injured her health, and occasioned a predisposition to fever, which eventually carried her off. This severe blow, which marred the happiness of his remaining days, fell upon him just at a time when his family were about to proceed to Europe. Mr. Colebrooke arrived in England early in 1815; and went to reside with his mother near Bath; from whence, in the next year, they removed to the neighbourhood of London; and the metropolis became the chief place of his abode for the rest of his life. He was there better enabled to follow up his literary and scientific pursuits than a residence in India would permit; and he could now enjoy more fully the society of persons of taste congenial to his own. Having become a member of almost every scientific institution in London, he passed a considerable portion of his hours of relaxation in the society which they afforded. At this period, his mind certainly disposed him far more towards the pursuit of science than it had hitherto done. He wrote more largely upon scientific subjects, occasionally giving essays to the Transactions of the scientific societies, and being a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly Journal of Science*. He became very much attached to chemical experiments, to which he would turn for relaxation from severer studies. He was one of the founders of the Astronomical Society, in the proceedings of which he took the greatest interest, having from early youth acquired a fondness for mathematical pursuits. Indeed, he appears to have always held science in far higher estimation than Eastern literature; and when his son, the writer of the memoir under our notice, went out to India, his father never expressed a wish that he should devote his time to Oriental studies, any further than they might be connected with his duties as a member of the civil service. It may interest many linguists to know, that he was strongly in favour of the mode of instruction by translations, being that which he had himself adopted. He was ever anxious to see systematic plans of study; and it was his constant practice to task himself to a certain course every day; and the task soon became a pleasure. His memory was so good, that it was irksome to him to take up any literary work a second time. When young, his deeper studies were usually pursued at night. He told his son, that it was no unfrequent occurrence for him to read himself stupid;

and that during the last half hour or so of his vigils, his brain would become confused; but on waking in the morning, he usually found the subject of his reading fresh in his mind.

Shortly after his arrival in this country from India, Mr. Colebrooke presented to the East-India Company his library of Sanscrit MSS., a collection the growth of many years, and which, it is thought, cost him, from first to last, about £10,000. He said that he felt such a collection ought not to be kept entirely to himself; and he deemed it more likely to be beneficial to Oriental science, as well as more convenient to himself, if it could be placed in a library like that of the East-India House, where it might be easily accessible.

His earliest labour, after his return to England, was to prepare for publication a work on which he had been engaged during his homeward voyage. It consisted of translations of the most celebrated treatises on Indian Algebra, accompanied by a Dissertation on the state of the science as cultivated by the Hindus. The subject is interesting in the history of his writings, as being that which first led him to the study of the Sanscrit language. In this work, on which the world has already stamped its value, some curious and important conclusions were arrived at. Among the Hindus, algebra had become a well-arranged science at the earliest periods to which it can be traced, whilst some of its branches had been cultivated to a degree to which it is not presumable that the Greeks had attained; and further, the circumstance was brought to light, of their having anticipated discoveries which had exercised the intellect of some of the most celebrated mathematicians of modern times.

Mr. Colebrooke took a principal share in the formation of the Royal Asiatic Society, instituted in 1823; and, indeed, may be considered its founder.* His first contribution to its Transactions (if we except the opening Discourse) was the commencement of a series of Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus—a most laborious task, considering the state of his health. It employed him during several subsequent years; and was, in fact, the last great labour he undertook. Severe family calamities, particularly the death of his eldest son, and the heavy losses in which some unfortunate speculations had involved him, preyed upon his mind; and although he was not wholly incapacitated for study, his constitution was too far shattered to allow him to pursue an uninterrupted course of reading. In this state he remained till 1829, when his literary labours were brought to a termination by a dangerous attack, which reduced him to so weak a state, that he was compelled to give up study altogether. For the last three years of his life, he never quitted his bed, or was never free from pain. In the depth of his afflictions, he derived consolation from religion; his temper, which, under the first attack of illness, had disposed him to fretfulness, became calm and resigned; and although his sufferings were occasionally intense, he scarcely uttered a complaint, never alluding to his situation except when requiring assistance to have his posture changed. In January last, he was attacked by the epidemic which then prevailed. He lingered, however, till the 10th of March, when his frame was worn out.

Mr. E. Colebrooke, in concluding his sketch of his lamented father's life, remarks that his object in it has been to supply some scattered notices of his history to those who were already interested in the individual, and not to attempt a formal estimate of the value of his father's productions, of which he would leave others more qualified than himself to judge.

* A bust of Mr. Colebrooke, who held the office of Director of the Society, is now being executed for the Society, at the voluntary expense of the members.—*Ed. As. J.*

THE HINDUS CONSIDERED AS THE CARRIERS OF THE EARLY TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND ARABIA.

By **LIEUT. H. A. ORMSBY, I. N., M. B. G. S.**

BUGHALAH is the name given to a peculiar description of vessel, manned and navigated by Arabs, by which the chief commerce between India and the Arabian and Persian Gulfs is at present maintained. They are built within the ports of the gulfs, or at Cochin and Demaun, on the western coast of India, average from thirty to three hundred tons burden, and appear of a more modern and approved construction than any other class of vessels used in the eastern seas by the natives of the circumjacent coast. An horizontal section of the Bughalah would, as nearly as possible, resemble the form of a wedge; and the stern, which is high and unwieldy, was evidently copied from the vessels in which the early Europeans visited the Indian shores. Occasionally, their sterns are sharp, or long and overhanging; defects partially obviated where they have been built after our models; indeed, this latter and very primitive species of Bughalah is now rarely seen, except among nations whose intercourse with Europeans has not been sufficiently extensive to induce them to lay aside their antiquated style of naval architecture. Two other classes of boats, respectively styled *Trankey* and *Batilla*, the former being the larger of the two, but neither differing much in respect of build, occasionally visit the Indian ports from the Arab shore. Little or no iron is used in putting their timbers together, its place being supplied by coir string;* and vessels thus constructed, besides being exceedingly pliant and elastic, possess many sailing advantages over those fastened entirely with nails and bolts; a superiority very observable in the war-boats used by the Arabs of the Persian Gulf. Contrary to the European mode of boat-building, they tie the planks together, before the ribs are fastened in, which is the last and concluding part of the process.

The number of Bughalahs which traverse the two gulfs and the Arabian sea, including the smaller craft just described, is very considerable; since upwards of a thousand annually arrive in India between the monsoons. Thus, an immense commerce is maintained in a quiet, imperceptible manner, through the means of obscure native agents, who freight these different classes of Arab boats; and many thousand tons of British manufactured goods are taken off our merchants' hands, to find their way to the heart of the most remote and barbarous countries of the globe.

The trading vessels, used by the natives of India, differ in their build from the Bughalah, the Trankey, and the Batilla. Two descriptions of craft, namely, the Dingee and Pattamar, prevail upon the western coast, the former being built by the Hindus at Mandavee, and similar small ports on the Cutch and Cattamar coasts. Their form and appearance is very remarkable; they have probably remained unaltered during a series of ages, and resemble those early barks which first wafted the wealth of India to

* The practice is extremely ancient, as well as that of paying the seams with bees'-wax. During Arrian's expedition, one of the vessels was wrecked; but the sails and rigging were preserved. Having secured these, the sailors next proceeded to scrape off the wax, which Arrian and other writers represent as one of the most necessary articles in fitting out ships.

the Arabian shore, which were laden "in all sorts of things; in blue cloths and broider work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and made of cedar."* There also "the Ishmaelites and their camels, and the merchants of Sheba and Rama," were ready upon the shore to exchange their vessels of brass, their bright iron and tin, for "the chief of all spices; for precious stones, and for gold." Although, since the days of the inspired writer, the vicissitudes of nations, their enslavement or extinction, have, in a great measure, diverted this valuable commerce into other channels, it seems never to have wholly ceased. The great trade between India and the two gulfs consists in articles which are the produce of English industry; still some trifling portion of those rich and varied productions, for which, in all ages, India has been renowned, finds its way into Europe by the ancient channel. The commercial intercourse existing between Cutch and Arabia, may be considered the latest remnant of that primitive system of barter once so common throughout the Eastern world. For this purpose, their Dingees visit the ports of Berbera, near the entrance of the Red Sea, the Isle of Socotra, and the harbour of Muscat. They come laden with cargoes of white and blue cotton cloths, earthenware, pots, trinkets, spices, &c., which are bartered for ivory, butter, aloes, dragon's blood, gums, and gold dust. The crews of these boats consist of the mild and placid Hindus, who still go clad in the same muslin drapery,† and follow the pursuit of gain, with the same patient endurance, as at the period when their country was invaded by the ambitious son of Philip, nearly three thousand years ago.

These remarks will furnish the reader with a tolerably correct idea of the sort of craft employed in the commerce between India and the Arabian coast. I will now adduce a few facts tending to show that the whole maritime intercourse of the former of those countries, with the nations lying westward of it, was conducted in vessels built and manned by themselves.

When Semiramis invaded India, and gave battle to Strabrobatus, on the river Indus, the latter lost one thousand ships. The seventh Ptolemy, sensible that his impolitic edicts had nearly ruined the commerce of his country, by banishing from Alexandria all foreign merchants, suddenly revoked them, and again extended his protection to all strangers who visited his dominions. The trade from India, however, was injured beyond remedy. Instead of that vast navy of merchantmen, which once crowded the Alexandrian port, only a solitary trader occasionally ventured thither. One day, the troops stationed on the Arabian Gulf, discovered a bark abandoned to the waves, on board of which was a single Indian, half-dead with hunger and thirst. They brought him to the king. The man declared that he had sailed from his own country, but having lost his course, and expended all his provisions, he had come to the place where they found him, ignorant where he was, the last survivor of the vessel's crew. He concluded his imperfect narrative by offering to be a guide to any person his Majesty

* Ezekiel.

† "The Indians wear linen garments, the substance of which they are made growing upon trees, as I have already described; and thus, indeed, is flax, or rather something whiter and finer than flax, if the swarthiness of their bodies deceive us not, and make us believe it whiter than it is."—*Iranian's Expedition of Alexander*, vol. i. p. 233.

would send to India.* The figure of a horse carved upon the prow, is an almost universal ornament with the native vessels of Surat and Bombay at the present day. That it occupied the same position from the earliest ages, may be safely assumed, when we reflect upon the immutability of Indian customs. The inference, therefore, to be drawn from the following anecdote, is rather a confirmation of my opinion, that the Hindus possessed ships capable of undertaking remote commercial voyages, than as a proof that "there was a passage round Africa to the Atlantic Ocean."

"Eudoxus, trying experiments upon the courses of the trade-winds, lost his passage, and was thrown upon the coast of Ethiopia. In the course of the voyage, he discovered a portion of the prow of a vessel, which had been broken off by a storm. The figure of a horse made it an object of inquiry; and some of the sailors on board, who had been employed in European voyages, immediately knew this wreck to be part of one of the vessels used in trade to the western ocean. Eudoxus instantly perceived all the importance of the discovery, which amounted to nothing less than that there was a passage round Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic ocean."†

The reader of the above passage will probably consider that Eudoxus adopted a somewhat hasty and unfounded opinion. Besides the very great improbability of the fragment in question being swept round the Cape of Good Hope, my reading does not inform me that the horse's head was a sign peculiar to the trading ships of any ancient European people. Indeed, I have little doubt it was the last remnant of some Hindu bark, frail as the Dingee or Pattamar, and laden with the productions of its native land. Having lost its course, however, like that the soldiers of Ptolemy discovered upon the Arabian shore, it perished upon the ocean, together with the crew and costly freight.

The author of the life of Trajan asserts that, after quitting the Persian Gulf, that emperor sailed towards India,‡ and captured several vessels belonging to its inhabitants.§

But enough has been said for the purposes of this brief memoir, to show the probability that the ancient Hindus were a maritime people, possessed of a commercial navy. Indeed, the contrary opinion would not only intimate a great want of intelligence and ingenuity, but be directly opposed to the known practice of all nations in the enjoyment of similar advantages. They were masters of an extensive country, intersected by vast navigable rivers; their forests abounded with an infinite variety of the finest timber, among which, the gigantic teak tree stands pre-eminent, being for maritime purposes superior to the English oak; and although their first efforts at naval architecture were confined to the fabrication of a few rafts and boats,

* Strabo.

† Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, lib. ii. cap. 67.

‡ Some idea of the distance traversed by the ancient mariner, with a fair wind, in the course of a single day, may be gained from the following statement. The fleet of Xerxes, starting from the Euripus, reached Phalerum, a port of Attica, in three days, which is ninety-six miles, or thirty-two miles during twelve hours.

Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, says, he sailed from Cotyora to Harmerne in two days and one night. This distance, by sea, amounts to 1,422 stadia, or 162 English miles, by D'Anville's map. According to Ptolemy, 1,000 stadia was the distance a ship would sail in a day and a night.—*Arrian's Expedition*, &c.

§ Arrian mentions Nearchus meeting vessels in the Persian Gulf, but does not say to what country they belonged. Darius also built the vessels which formed his expedition, entrusted to the command of Scylax.—*Herod.* lib. iv.

as they advanced in skill, larger vessels would follow, together with a race of hardy fishermen, fitted for navigation, and prepared to pursue their business upon the bosom of the great waters.

It may be argued, that the separation of the Hindus into what have been considered hereditary and unalterable professions, subsisted from all antiquity, and that among these we certainly find no caste of sailors. I do not dispute the latter part of this assertion; but the "*auri sacra fames*," that universal love of gold, which has led men, in every age, to sacrifice present and future hopes for its gratification, has been equally conspicuous here.* The Cutch Dingees are wholly manned and navigated by Hindus; The boatmen of the Malabar coast are the most expert and daring sailors I have met with in the East; and there are several villages near Dio, the male inhabitants of which are sailors, and bear the character of being bold and skilful in their profession. There are also a great number of Lascars, but being Mahomedans, they are most probably the descendants of foreigners.

The fact, then, that the natives of Hindostan are, and have always been, addicted to a seafaring life, greatly corroborates the supposition that they once engrossed the whole trade between India and Arabia, until dispossessed of it by their more wily neighbours. When Solomon fitted out a fleet to sail along the latter coast, recourse was had to the Phœnicians. When Necho, king of Egypt, sent his ships round the Cape, they were manned by the same people, the master-mariners of those ages. If these circumstances clearly show that the Arabs of the Red Sea were comparatively deficient in nautical skill, it will be equally easy to prove, from physical causes, that they never could have been the builders of vessels calculated to undertake the Indian voyage. Arabia is a country producing no timber fit for constructing ships. Along the whole face of that peninsula, an extent of about three thousand miles, the land is consumed by drought, and does not afford nourishment to a single tree fitted to build the smallest boat. The palm, indeed, abounds, but its fibres are too coarse; the acacia is common also, but it is too diminutive; and the few other shrubs, scattered over the waste, are unworthy of notice.† The present race of Arabs are wholly dependent upon India for timber for the purposes of the ship-builder, even up to as high a meridian as Baghdad on the Persian, and Juddah on the African side.

In the first instance, they may have had timber from Syria, for the original shipwrights were Syrians, and the first mariners were Phœnicians. But the employment of these in the days of Solomon, when the trade had long

* There are, at this moment, in Mandavee, no fewer than eighty persons, of the Rajpoot race, who could navigate a vessel to distant lands, so that from the idlest, the most dissipated, and the least settled of all the Indian community, a class of men of the first utility to a mercantile state has been raised.—*Lieut. Burnes on Maritime Communication with India.*

† En examinant l'Egypte sous ces divers rapports, on reconnoît qu'elle ne pouvoit devenir le pays d'un peuple dont l'occupation principale fut la marine. Bordée presque de toutes parts de rochers prodigieux de granité et de marbre, couverte d'eaux chaque année par les inondations du Nil, ne produisant que des arbres folbles et en petit nombre, on voit que la nature manquoit aux Egyptiens pour construire des navires.

"Whilst contemplating Egypt in reference to these circumstances, we easily discover that she never could become the country of a people whose principal pursuit was navigation. Enclosed on almost every side by prodigious rocks of marble and granite; covered with water annually by the inundations of the Nile, producing no trees, except such as are small, weak, worthless, and few in number, it is perfectly evident that nature denied the Egyptians the power of becoming a great maritime nation."—*Le Roy, Marine des Anciens.* These observations will equally apply to the country of which we are now treating.

been flourishing; proves that the Arabs were then ignorant of naval architecture and navigation. It is perfectly absurd to imagine that the Arabs of Oman, Yemen, Ghazrae, brought timber down to the coast upon their camels. It is likewise improbable that they should at once construct vessels, boldly launch them, and, with greater boldness, steer across the ocean to India, of which they could have but a very indistinct notion, and which is visible from their own country at one point only, and that very indistinctly.

Illi robur et æs triplex
 Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
 Commisit pelago ratem
 Primus.*

It is not disputed, that the Arabs were the land-carriers of Indian and China produce, as well as that brought from the Eastern islands to Idumea, Tyre, and Egypt. Of this we are informed by sacred and profane writers; but it does not imply any necessity for quitting their own shores. The articles they dealt in might have been conveyed to them by the Hindus, who had evidently advanced in the arts of civilisation beyond their rivals. In the lapse of ages, however, their superior boldness and enterprising character, enabling them to outreach the plain and simple Hindu, they generally monopolized the principal portion of the Indian commerce. When the Europeans discovered a passage to the East round the Cape, they found many Arab settlements on the coasts of Hindostan; and the Portuguese, on their first opening the trade to Calicut, experienced the most determined opposition from those of that nation who had settled there.

Indeed, the Arabs have at all times manifested a fierce and indomitable spirit of enterprise, whether in the prosecution of commercial advantages, or the dissemination of their religious tenets. The former carried them to the shores of China† and of Ceylon; the latter, even to the very farthest of the Eastern islands. At a still later period, this energy of character enabled them to subdue, and for ages to maintain possession of, the fairest portions of southern Europe, which they enriched by their extended commerce, and adorned with exquisite monuments of art.

* Or oak, or brass with triple fold
 That hardy mortal's daring breast enrolled,
 Who first to the wild ocean's rage,
 Launch'd the frail bark, and heard the billows rage.

† Gutzlaff, *History of China*. Pliny says that, even in his time, the Arabs had settled at Ceylon in great numbers.

TAME FISH IN AVA.

Captain Hannay, in his route from Ava to Assam, mentions a remarkable instance of the tameness of some fish near a village called Thihadophya. "If rice is thrown into the water, from the boat, a dozen fish, some three and four feet long, come to the surface, and not only eat the rice, but open their mouths for you to put it in, and will allow you to pat them on the head, which I and some of my followers actually did. Some of these fish are apparently of the same species as those called in India *gûrâ* and *râta*; indeed, the Hindus, who were with me, called them by these names. The breadth of the head is remarkable, and the mouth very large; they have no teeth—at least so the people told me, whom I saw feeling their mouths." The following morning, Captain Hannay was "awoke by the boatmen calling to the fish to participate in their meal."

THE CAUCASIAN NATIONS.

THE measures adopted by Russia against the Circassians having, in some degree, awakened public attention in England to the Caucasian nations generally, we shall, perhaps, render a not unacceptable service to our readers, by laying before them an abridgment of Count Potocki's narrative of his travels in the Caucasian country, published in 1829 by the late M. Klaproth. The Count was a member of one of the most ancient families in Poland, and having had an excellent education, devoted himself to letters. As a Pole, his inclination led him to investigate the origin of the great Slavonian family, and having exhausted the classical authors and those of the Middle Age, he determined to complete and verify his conclusions by local inquiries; and for this purpose he travelled in various parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia. His *Voyage dans le pays Caucasiens* was one of the fruits of his investigations, and it has received all the benefit which it could derive from the learning and local knowledge of his editor.

The Count departed from Moscow in May 1797, and in a few days entered the steppes of the Don, a desert country, comprised in the Second Laxia of the ancients. He then crossed to the tongue of land which separates the Don from the Volga, the elevated plains of which, exposed to the winds, exhibit the very picture of desolation. From the highest point, the extensive inundations of the Volga were seen, converting the country into a vast archipelago, united by lines of forest, realizing Ovid's description of the Deluge, fishes making war amongst the trees on the rats which took refuge there.

Crossing the Tsaritsa, he quitted Europe and entered Asia, and soon arrived at the Moravian settlement at Sarepta. He then embarked on the Sârpa for Astrakhan, and entering the Volga, in ten days arrived at that city. He passed a considerable time here, and amongst the Kalmuk horde in its neighbourhood, of whom he gives an interesting description. He here met with a Ocherhentse princess, whom the chances of war had driven as far as Astrakhan. "She was tolerably handsome, and well educated for her, that is, she understood the Turkish language, as it is spoken in Shirwan; but she could not divest herself of her national prejudices. A country where there was no robbing on the highways was to her a monotonous and tiresome place; in her opinion, a stolen pocket-handkerchief was more delightful than a pearl necklace that had been bought for her. She declared, that from the beginning of time, the princes of her house had always robbed on the Tiflis or Taikoo roads; and she would not for the world that her relations and friends should know of her marrying a man who did not subsist by plunder. Such are the manners of the Caucasus; to which must be added, a contempt for life, and great esteem for hospitality and friendship, with an extreme propensity to falsehood and perfidy, except in regard to a friend, whom it is not allowed to deceive."

Quitting Kalmuk-bazar, the Count proceeded, in September, over the saline steppes on the western shore of the Caspian, till he reached Kizhar, on the Terek. On the 8th November, he beheld, for the first time, the summits of the inhospitable Caucasus. On the desert plains of the Terek, the Ocherhentse often appeared in force, and attacked travellers, carrying off both man and baggage. The Count visited one of their princes, named Ali-beg, a handsome man; but his palace was a hut, miserably furnished.

At Mozdok, on the Terek (the northern boundary of Circassia), he heard of nothing but the country of the Cherkesses, or Circassians. "All they tell me of it," says the Count, "is so extraordinary, that I can scarcely believe that there is a country so governed. But it does exist,—it is before my eyes on the other side of the Terek, and I can go there when I please. I have already said that, throughout the Caucasus, robbery is held in respect; but here a prince cannot remain peaceably at home for a week without disgracing himself. A *pcheh*, or prince of the Kabardah, must rob either the Ossetes and Chechentses; or on the other side of the Kuban, amongst the Cherkesses; or across the Russian frontier; or even amongst the princes of his own family. When he returns home with his booty, his *woork*, or gentlemen, pay him a visit, asking what they please, and he gives it them: he then goes to their houses, and takes what he wants for the support of his household. When a prince goes out to rob, he is supposed to be *incognito*, and his gentlemen are not obliged to attend him; but when he goes to the wars, they must follow him, and die for him if occasion require, or they would be dishonoured. A prince has no peasants; they belong to the gentlemen. Those peasants who are dissatisfied with their master, may leave him and go to another. In like manner, the gentlemen who are not content with their prince, may go to another. The three classes cannot intermarry. The peasants are not allowed to assume the coat of mail, or the bow and quiver; they go into the field in chariots, and fight on foot. Each prince is so independent, that it is not even customary for sons to obey their parents. Matters, however, which concern the whole country, are debated in the *poks*, which are a kind of diets, at which the senior prince, or *pcheh-thommadé*, presides. There are two chambers, that of the princes and that of the gentlemen; each has its orators; deputations are frequently sent from one to the other, and it is said that every thing is conducted with much dignity. This is what I learnt of the constitution of the Circassians; but these assemblies never take place unless when Russia has some propositions to make; for in respect to interior government, the true constitution is, in fact, what is termed in Germany *faust-recht*, 'the right of the fist.'"

Count Potocki obtained a valuable document, and very difficult to procure, namely, the genealogy of the princes of the Kabardah. Their family, according to this authority, commences from Shem, the son of Noah, and came from Arabia. The names of the princes, or khans, are given; but the Count thinks their true genealogy does not commence till twelve generations before the reigning princes Dokshukha and Spshimaha, the glory of Circassia. Abdun-khan, with a small number of subjects, came to the court of the Emperor Constantine, where he remained some time, and then visited the *Kissar* of the Romans, who was much pleased with Abdun-khan. The latter came into the Crimea, where he settled on a river called Kabardah.* There Abdun-khan had a son, whom he named *Kissrai*, out of regard for the Kissar of the Romans; the Circassians call the name *Kess*. They then removed to the mouth of the Kuban, where they multiplied, and Abdun-khan died, being succeeded by his son Kess. Adu-khan succeeded Kess, whose successor was his son, Hrufataia, who left the throne to his son Inal. Under this prince, who was valiant and prudent, the population increased; his reign was long, and is celebrated throughout the Caucasus. The inhabitants of the Kabardah still

* M. Klaproth has observed that in the Crimea there are still to be seen the ruins of a castle called *Cherkes-kerman*; and the territory between the Kacha and the Belbik, of which the upper portion bears still the name of *Kabardah*, has that of *Cherkes-tuc*, or "Plain of the Circassians."

speak of him continually; his gold cross is preserved. Inal had three wives; by the first, he had Janhot; by the second, Begbolat and Bezlen; by the third, Oonamas and Karlysh, who succeeded him in Kabardah. Karlysh had a son named Toktamys, who, being deficient in courage, was degraded from his rank, and made a simple gentleman. The race of Oonamas ceased with his son Aydar. Bezlen had two sons, the founders of the illustrious race of the Bezlenieh, who flourished on the left bank of the Kuban. Begbolat had a son named Ghilaz-khan, who founded the race of Mudarcih, in Little Kabardah. Janhot had two sons, Tau-sulthan, author of the race so called; and Kaytukho, whose heroic progeny are the boast of Little Kabardah. About the fourth generation from Janhot, was one Cheghenukho,* whose race became an object of dislike; and two generations after (corresponding with the beginning of the eighteenth century), the massacre of the Cheghenukhos took place. The genealogy simply says, that this family was destroyed on account of its pride; but tradition has preserved the following facts. The heads of this family did not allow the other princes to sit in their presence; they did not permit the horses of the other princes to be watered in the same stream, or at least above theirs; when they would wash their hands, they obliged a young prince to hold the basin; they refused to appear at the *poks*, or diets of the princes. This is what happened in consequence. At one of these general diets, they were proscribed; the judges were themselves the executioners of their own decree. Nothing transpired until the fatal moment arrived, when all the princes of the Cheghenukho race, with their male children and pregnant females, were poniarded. This event, which is still the frequent topic of conversation throughout Circassia, forms a kind of epoch, from which the people of the present day calculate their age: but no one existed in 1797 who was alive at the period it occurred.

• M. Klaproth subjoins the following particulars respecting the origin of the Circassian nation, or rather the genealogy of their princes, which he collected from the elders amongst the Cherkesses, during his journey in Circassia, where he sojourned for some months in the year 1808.

“ Their founder was Arab-khan (the Adu-khan of Count Potocki), a prince of Arabia, who quitted that country with a few adherents, and came to Shanchir, a city since destroyed, situated near Anapa, in the country of the Nechkua, and from whence the princes of Temargoi, and all the other Cherkesses, pretend to have come. Remains of walls and ditches may, in fact, be still seen there, inclosing an area of about half a German mile (about 2½ English) in diameter, extending on the east as far as the Psif, on the west to the Nefil. The site has four outlets, like a Roman camp. On the north, towards the marshes of the Kuban, are several mounds, which may be taken for fortifications. Arab-khan was succeeded by his son Khurpataia (the Hurufataia of Count Potocki), who had a son named Inal, surnamed *Nef*, or ‘the squint-eyed,’ whom the princes of both the Kabardahs regard as the stock of their race. He left five sons, Tau-sulthan, Akhlau, Mudar, Bezlen, and Komukwa (the Janhot, Begbolat, Bezlen, Oonamas, and Karlysh, of Count Potocki), who separated after his death, and made a partition of the people amongst them. Tau-sulthan was the strongest; from him descends the house of that name, the princes of which still possess the western part of Little Kabardah, which, in consequence, bears the name of Tau-salthania, or Taltostania. Akhlau and Mudar lived on

* M. Klaproth states that he was a prince of the Bezlenieh family, and that such of his descendants as escaped the general massacre took refuge in Georgia, became Christians, and had lands assigned them in Kakhethi by King Vakhtang. The family is called by the Georgians Cherkessi-shwill.

good terms with the family, and were the founders of two families of princes, who possess the eastern part, called Ghilakhsania. Bezlen and Komukwa separated from their brothers, but were united amongst themselves; from them have descended the princes of Kabardah, properly so called, or Great Kabardah, which, for this reason, is also called Bezlenkeh. This is the only genealogy of these princes: it cannot be traced with certainty beyond the sixteenth century."

At Mozdok, Count Potocki was informed by the son of the commandant of the place, a Russian, who had been carried off by the Chechentses, and ransomed, the mode in which these captures were made. The regiment in which he served was encamped three leagues from Mozdok, and having obtained leave to see his relations, he set off, accompanied by a single Cossack. Descending a hill, two leagues from Mozdok, he heard some musket-shots; his Cossack was killed; his horses took fright and overturned his carriage. He was immediately attacked, and received a sabre-wound on the head, and another on the arm. He was then placed on horseback, and conveyed in the manner in which these people carry off their prisoners. A gag is placed in their mouth, which is the end of a stick, fastened by a leather strap, which goes round the nape of the neck. If the prisoner does not move willingly, they tie his arms and legs, and carry him to the banks of the Terek. There they fasten inflated skins under his arms, and a rope with a running noose round his neck. All then plunge into the water, and the prisoner is obliged to hold the cord as tightly as possible to avoid being strangled; two swimmers drawing him along by this cord, till they reach the other bank, when he is replaced on horseback. The Chechentses rarely kill a traveller from whom they expect a good ransom; as to servants and postillions, they do not spare them. The young Russian, in this case, was so weakened by loss of blood, that the two swimmers were obliged to support him. When he reached his place of destination, fetters were put upon his feet, and a chain round his neck; in other respects he was well-treated and well-fed. Being connected with a family of Nogai princes, of high rank in the Kuban, those who were appointed to guard him did not sit in his presence unless he permitted them. He was suffered to walk about in all the Chechentsæ villages, which had in turn the charge of guarding and maintaining him, and the fair sex tried to soften the rigours of captivity by admitting him to their most private coteries, or evening parties, at which the young maidens work together, and spin wool, whilst they talk about their innocent love-matters. When one of these evening parties was to take place, the damsels took charge of the prisoner from the young men who had custody of him; his fetters were then removed, and he was consigned to his new keepers, who conducted him to the apartment. There he was seated on the floor, and the mistress of the house presented him with a glass of cool water. Whilst he was drinking it, all remained standing; when he had drank it, he was considered one of the party; and this privilege was the greater, inasmuch as young Taganov understood the language, and could join in all the sports. The young men played on the two-stringed guitar; the young women sung and danced, and the party was kept up far beyond midnight. He was often with the young married women, who neither concealed themselves nor veiled in his presence: for here, wives live in the same house with their husbands, which is not the case amongst the Circassians, who consider it a great disgrace to be seen with their wives; the latter have a separate residence, whither the husband goes only at night, and privily. The Chechentses are always gay, even when they are in absolute want. The men are liable to sudden gusts of anger on the

slightest occasion, especially when one affects any superiority over the others ; though they willingly recognise the distinctions which prevail amongst other people. There are even some Chechentsé villages subject to Kumuk princes, and others under princes of their own. But the mass of the Chechentses are independent, and are so impatient of subjection, that, on an invasion, they would abandon their villages, and live in the woods and amongst the rocks. After five months of this gentle captivity, the Chechentses suddenly took horse and conveyed Taganov across the high mountains into the country of the Lesghi-Andi,* whose manners nearly resembled those of the Chechentses : the women were differently dressed, and still less reserved ; the houses were better built and furnished, but there was an extraordinary penury of food.

On arriving at Catherinograd, a party of Circassian robbers came close up to the town, and carried off some horses. The novel attempt to cure these people of their inveterate habits of pillage had been made by some Zaporovian Cossacks. Having caught one of the Circassian princes, who had stolen some of their horses, they inflicted two hundred blows on the soles of his feet, placed him on horseback, and sent him home, with an exhortation, in respectful terms, that he would be pleased in future to abstain from carrying off their horses, and to prevail upon the princes of his family to do the same. This violence, offered to the person of one of their princes, roused Circassia from one end to the other ; but the Cossacks got out of the difficulty by an ingenious and very subtle distinction. They declared that they had bastinadoed the robber, not the prince, whom they had sent back in a most honourable manner. The argument appeared to be satisfactory, and the expedient, which was a dangerous one, had the effect of securing the Lower Kuban from the inroads of the Cherkesses.

- The Count relates an incident, which shows the vindictive temper of the Caucasian tribes. An Ingoosh robber was taken by the Russians, at the fort of Wlady-kavkas, on the right bank of the Terek, made to run the gauntlet, and then released ; but he died of the effects of his punishment. His brother, determined on revenge, passed days and nights in traversing the rocky country, with his gun in his hand, to single out his victim. A young officer inconsiderately left the place ; the Ingoosh shot him, and cut off his ears, which he carried to the tomb of his brother, and offered them, with certain ceremonies, to his *manes*. He killed eighteen victims, and treated them in like manner, three of whom were officers.

The Ingooshes and the Karaboolaks are branches of the same nation as the Chechentses, which has the name of Misjeghi ; the latter are Mahomedans ; the two former are Pagans, and worship sacred rocks, called *Yerda*, with sumptuous ceremonies, especially at funerals. When an Ingoosh or a Karaboolak dies, the relations beg sheep from their neighbours, and offer them to the deceased, who is seated in his house, carefully apparelled, with his pipe in his hand. He is always presumed to accept the sheep, and then they ask him what is to be done with them. As he does not answer, they kill the animals, and eat them in common. The Ingooshes have also little idols of silver, with no particular shape, called *tsum*, which they pray to for rain, children, or any other celestial favour. They take names from animals, so that one calls himself ox, another pig or dog. Some of the Chechentses follow the religion of the rocks, which was the general creed of the Misjeghi nation ; and those who are Mahomedans

* The Lesghi-Andi, or Andalal, according to M. Klaproth, are a Leaghiian race, who, however, speak a peculiar dialect of the Leaghiian tongue. The district they occupy is bounded on the east by Avar and Tsudakhara on the east, by Avar and Bogos on the south, by the Ak-tash or Kazba river on the west, and the Bourtuneh on the north. They are Mahomedans of the Sunni sect.

do not speak of God by the name of *Allah*, but *Daa* or *Daal*, which does not come from their primitive religion, since the pagan Ingooshes execrate *Daal*. When an Ingoosh owes any thing to a Chechentse, and cannot or will not pay it, the latter goes to the *konak* (host or friend) which he has amongst the Ingooshes, and says: "Such a one of your people owes me so much; make him pay me, or I will bring a dog and kill it upon the tombs of your family." This menace terrifies the Ingoosh, and makes him take up the creditor's cause. If the debtor deny the claim, he is put to his oath in the following form:—The bones and excrement of dogs are mixed together, and brought before the *Yerda*, or holy rock. The two parties appear, and the debtor says, with a loud voice, "If I do not speak truth, may the dead of my family bear on their shoulders the dead of such an one's family, in this very place!" If an Ingoosh loses a son, another who has lost a daughter, comes to him, and says: "Your son may want a wife in the other world; I give him my daughter; pay me so many cows for the *kalym*;" and this is never refused. The *kalym*, it is well known, is, amongst the Musulmans, the dowry which the bridegroom pays to his father-in-law. The Ingooshes may have as many as five wives. After the death of the father, his sons may marry all his wives, except their own mother. These details were collected by the Count chiefly from the Chechentses, the Ingooshes themselves being unwilling to give information respecting their nation.

Quitting Catherinograd, and crossing the Malka, into Great Kabardah, Count Potocki came to a Circassian village, which has no resemblance, he says, to those of the Chechentses or Kumuks. "The dwellings of the Cherkesses are not properly houses; they are rather large baskets, made of branches carefully interlaced, the whole being well-plastered with clay, and covered with a roof of reeds. Their appearance is in general pleasing; they are built in rows; they have inclosures, offices, and separate rooms dedicated to hospitality, that is, for lodging travellers. A village does not remain in the same place more than four or five years; by that time, the princes have fallen out with their neighbours, or have formed fresh connexions, and they go and take up their quarters elsewhere, for the land belongs to the nation collectively. These nomade habits were formerly common to almost all barbarous nations. We walked through the village, and arrived at the house of the head of it, who received me at the door. He was an old man, with a white beard, and of the most picturesquely venerable figure it is possible to imagine. His dress was magnificent. A large rich scimitar hung from his girdle in front, and he held a real sceptre in his right hand—a circumstance which gave me great pleasure, because it led me to believe, which was the fact, that I was under the roof of a descendant of the ancient *Skeptukoi*, or 'sceptre-bearers,' who ruled the Sarmatians of the Danube as well as those of the Caucasus, as we see in Strabo and Tacitus. The aged Shabas invited us into his humble mansion, which was hung with mats, and singularly neat and clean. Inquiring for the princess (for this is the title given to his wife), we proceeded to her apartment, and we found her holding a kind of court. Near her was a personage with a red turban, whom I judged to be the priest, and some female attendants, very young. The princess herself might be about sixty, but her figure was remarkably fine, that is, it would be remarkably so elsewhere, but amongst the Circassians this is so common, that there is scarcely an exception."

It was in the Circassian country that the Count discovered proofs of the existence of the Alani, who are now reduced to a thousand souls. "If we could communicate with this remnant of the nation," he observes, "and

ascertain the language they speak, we should doubtless be able to solve a great historical problem. I did what I could to accomplish it. Here it was that a word from the Court would have served me; but this I could not obtain, whatever trouble I took at Moscow for that object."

Whilst at Gheorghievsk, the Count went to visit a statue which the Circassian prince Shabas had described to him, on the banks of the Yetoka, and which is pictured in the work of Guldenstædt. It is situated on a rising ground, near a spring, and represents a man armed in the Circassian manner; it is about fifteen feet high. There is an inscription on its pedestal, in Greek and Slavonian characters intermixed. The Circassians, who call it Dukabeg, have no tradition of its history.

Count Potocki then diverged to the northward, into the country of the Turcomans, whither it is unnecessary to follow him.

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Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the curious fact of the discovery of remains of ancient Christian churches on the Circassian side of the Kuban. The fact is mentioned by Reineggs, but his authority is not safe; M. Klaproth, however, in his visit to the country, ascertained it, and gave the first correct details of the site of these churches, in his *Voyage au Mont Caucase* (tom. i. p. 282), and in the *Nouv. Journ. Asiatique* (Mai 1830). In speaking of the river Shona, or Chouna, which rises in the Elbrouz mountains, and falls into the Kuban, he observes that, on its left bank, on a mountain, is an ancient church, which the Circassians call also Shona, or Chouna, and which is now in a bad condition. "According to tradition, it was built by the Franks. The Circassians give indifferently the name of *Klissi* to all the churches placed on mountains: this word, as well as the Turkish term *kilissia*, is a corruption of the Greek, *ἐκκλησία*." Another stone church was observed in the high schist mountains, near the sources of the Great Injik. A little to the north of this church are some ruins of brick buildings, which the Circassians call Majar-ounneh, or "Brick houses."

In a St. Petersburg journal, published in 1825, is an account of the ancient churches and other antiquities on the Great Injik river, by Major Potemkin, who was sent, in 1802, to expostulate with the Pasha of Anapa, on the subject of the robberies committed on the Russian territory by the people of the ultra-Kuban country. The Pasha despatched some of his officers with the Major to the tribes complained of; and it was on this occasion that the latter visited places where, in modern times, no European had probably set his foot. In the country of the Beshilbays, a Caucasian tribe, of the Abaze race, he met with three ancient stone churches, of Greek architecture, on the right bank of the Great Injik. He entered these churches, examined them, and made drawings of them. The first which occurs, in following the course of the river, is thirty-two arsheens long and twenty broad; the second, which is situated one verst from the preceding, is twenty arsheens by fifteen; and the third, which is half a verst from the last, is fifteen arsheens by ten. They have cupolas, and within there still remain in all of them figures of saints, painted in fresco, like those in the Russian churches. In one is the image of St. Nicholas in good preservation, with some Greek letters on either side. Near the same church, in the cemetery, is placed a wooden cross,* of rude work-

* M. Klaproth states that he was informed by several Nogays and Circassians, that many crosses and remains of crosses are to be seen on the banks of the rivers which fall into the Kuban.

manship, with an inscription in Greek letters, which has exercised the ingenuity of a French *savant*, well acquainted with Byzantine palaeography, who translates it thus: "Jesus Christ is conqueror. Years (elapsed) since the creation of the world down to (the erection of) these venerable crosses, 6521." This date of the Mundauc era of Constantinople corresponds to A.D. 1013, a period when the Greeks made great efforts in the Caucasus, and when Basil II., their emperor, having obtained possession of part of Iberia, in 991, subjected in 1016 several provinces of the ancient Media.

Two other ancient churches, situated near the Upper Kuban, were visited by M. Bernadazzi, who made an excursion, in the year 1829, into the mountains where these remains of the middle age are to be found, bearing a letter of introduction from the Russian governor in the province of the Caucasus to the Circassian princes. Speaking of the church on the Chouana, he says: "What astonished me most, was the solidity of the edifice and the skill with which it was built. All the vaults are of hewn stone, whilst the arches are constructed of excellent bricks. The rock on which the church is situated is porphyry; but the edifice is built of sandstone." The Circassian princes, to whom he was recommended, professed ignorance on the subject of these antiquities, and dissuaded the traveller from examining them, on the ground of danger from the people. M. Bernadazzi, however, proceeded, with a large party, including the princes, to examine an ancient church on the Teberda river. It was situated on a steep mountain; in the interior were several fresco paintings, representing the Passion; most of them in good preservation. At the end, where the altar formerly was, is a gigantic image of the Virgin Mary, the arms extending over the three windows. Here, too, is a Greek inscription. The church is built of the same stone as that of the Chouana. The roof is covered with tiles. The pavement is entirely destroyed, as if the Circassians had been searching for treasure. Near the church are two tombs, wholly overthrown. The guides would not for any consideration remain on the spot all night.

Another remarkable church, M. Klaproth has stated, exists near the river of Chieghem, in the high mountains to the eastward of the Elbrouz. It is placed on a rock in which a serpentine passage has been cut, guarded on each side with iron bars. Some leaves of an ancient Greek Gospel were found there by Pallas, as well as leaves of Greek rituals. Klaproth obtained some of the latter, the writing of which was of the fifteenth century.

A DAY AT MALACCA.

Few persons, however strong and well qualified to indure the heat of a tropical climate, can reside many years in any portion of our Asiatic possessions without suffering occasionally from the sickness incidental to the place of the sojourn. I, at least, was not so fortunate as to escape the attacks of fever, and after an anxious and fatiguing voyage, in the wilder parts of the Indian Archipelago, I was laid up with a severe illness of many weeks' duration. Being recommended to try the effect of a change of climate, usually so beneficial to an invalid, as soon as I was enabled to rise from my bed, I availed myself of the kindness of a much valued friend, who asked me to accompany him in a schooner he commanded, and which was about to make a voyage to Malacca and Penang. Incapable as I felt of active exertion, and yet wanting some incentive to assist in throwing off the languor which oppressed me, nothing could be more favourable for the return to health than this proposal. My experience in nautical affairs would naturally occasion me to take a warm interest in those events of the voyage which a mere landsman would consider "stale, flat, and unprofitable," while the absence of all responsibility would prevent the excitement from rising to the excess which had so lately been prejudicial to my health.

As the passage to the westward, out of Singapore Road, is narrow and intricate, it is the custom for vessels bound to ports in that direction, to get under weigh early in the morning, so that, in the event of the wind proving contrary, they may have the whole day before them to pass the narrows. We, therefore, embarked on board the schooner over-night, and when the first streak of dawn appeared in the eastern horizon, the anchor was weighed, the sails set, and with a fine breeze from the south-east, the little vessel skirted the line of islands and reefs which bounds this side of the harbour, and in less than half an hour was in the fair way of the channel. The gut, through which we were now about to pass, is the narrowest part of the straits of Malacca, the channel being contracted to a width of little more than half a mile, by reefs which stretch from the island of Singapore on the one side, and from the islands of Ballam on the other. We soon entered the gut, where the tide, which was in our favour, ran with a rapidity that must have been awful to persons unaccustomed to the navigation of these straits. With all the lights of science to aid us, and the results of the experience gathered by our predecessors for our guides, while calmly contemplating the effects of well-known causes, and calculating, without danger of going astray, the exact difficulties to be encountered, it is impossible not to be struck by the noble daring of the early voyagers, who ventured with reckless boldness into unexplored seas, and, regardless of times and seasons, pushed on their adventurous course without the guidance of a single chart. The little vessel in which I was carried along at so fearful a rate, that the wind could no longer exert any power on the sails, and she turned round and round in the current, completely at their mercy, being sometimes borne by them within a few fathoms of the reefs, whence a counter-current would force her into mid channel again. This species of navigation appears particularly frightful to strangers, who are unacquainted with the true nature of the circumstances attending it; there is in reality little danger, for the current will always carry a vessel clear of the reefs, unless human efforts misapplied should counteract its influence.

We soon emerged from the gut into the more open water, and as the

schooner was now borne steadily along before a light breeze, I seated myself in the gangway, and passed some time in the contemplation of the enchanting scenery of the straits. The water was now as smooth as that of an inland lake on a calm day of summer, clear to the eye, and beautifully bright. Small low islands, covered with verdure, the emerald gems of these silver seas, arose in every direction, and nearly a-head the lofty Cariman lay like a sleeping giant, its deep woods reposing in the sunshine, and its towering eminence looking out loftily over its clustering satellites around. Two large ships, bound to Singapore, working to windward over the smooth surface of the water, gave animation to the scene, while several native prahus, under the land, skimming like wild swans on the wave, afforded additional objects of interest and beauty. The seamen, who were Javanese, were all busily employed under the superintendence of the commandant and his officers, some in adjusting large coir mats on the yards, to prevent them from chafing the rigging; others in middle-stitching and repairing an old sail, which had been brought upon the quarter-deck for the purpose. This state of things is always an agreeable one for the looker-on, for, excepting during a dead calm (one of the greatest annoyances which can befall the mariner), the settled state of the weather, and the consequent comfort of the crew, may be deduced from their sitting about on the deck at such employments, which will engage their attention for several hours, and will not interfere with the working of the vessel.

My friend, the captain of the schooner, who was a young man, had come out to the Archipelago without having imbibed the prejudices against the natives which Europeans of a more mature age are too apt to acquire. It is a melancholy truth, that in all our Asiatic possessions, strangers somewhat advanced in life can seldom be induced to look upon the children of the soil with unjaundiced eyes. They are apt to regard them not only as an ignorant race, but as an inferior set of beings, for whom, if education has done little, nature has done still less. Although when men advance in life, their feelings should become more unbiassed and their judgment clearer, certainly, as regards the opinions formed of the strangers with whom they may associate in a foreign country, the reverse is the case; and it will be found that persons who have attained to middle age before they arrive at a colony, can rarely bring themselves to do common justice to the native inhabitants. Unhappily, there have been many voyagers in the Indian Archipelago who have not enjoyed the opportunity, and who perhaps did not entertain the wish, to ascertain the true character of the Malays, and never making the slightest endeavour to overcome the first ill impression, have followed the example of their predecessors, and represented the whole community as a race of pirates and assassins. The appearance of our seamen contrasted very strongly with that of the crew of a vessel in which I had lately made a short passage; the former were squalid in their attire, negligent and slovenly in their habits, and had a scared look, working as if they expected a blow or an execration every moment. The difference, indeed, was so striking, that a stranger, unacquainted with the fact of their being natives of the same town, would have supposed them to belong to distinct races.

In the evening, after watching the sun's descent into old ocean, a glorious prospect at all times, and more especially so during fine weather in this part of the world, the wind being rather cool, I left the deck, and accompanied the captain into the cabin. Entering into conversation, which proved deeply interesting to both parties, an hour rapidly passed away, when our discourse was suddenly and most unexpectedly interrupted by the schooner's being

throws over on her beam-ends. We should have followed the chairs, decanters, and glasses into the lee-scuppers, on their very unceremonious departure, had we not seized hold of the table, which, fortunately for us, was securely lashed. This uncomfortable change in our position was followed by a crush on deck, and a fluttering of canvas, when the vessel immediately righted. My friend hastened up the companion-ladder, and I followed as speedily as my strength would permit; but no sooner had I raised my head above the hatch, than my hat was borne from it by the wind, and carried far to leeward. Above, and all around, the sky, lately so clear, had become as black as ink, and the darkness would have been complete but for the light cast upwards by the sea, lashed into foam by the strength of the hurricane, the spray flying over us in showers. The aspect of affairs upon deck was disagreeable enough; the fore-top-mast had gone close above the cap; the top-sail, top-gallant-sail, and jibs, were hanging over the side or dragging in the water, while the main-sail was shivered to ribbons. This catastrophe was occasioned by one of the far-famed Sumatran squalls, which had arisen and overtaken the vessel with a rapidity which baffled the calculations of the mate, and almost paralyzed him with astonishment. Unaccustomed to the navigation of these straits, he had been making preparations to meet the *tufan* as deliberately as if it had occurred in the open sea. Fortunately, only one man was aloft at the time, furling the top-gallant-sail, and he clung firmly to the falling mast, and by dint of activity and presence of mind, succeeded in getting safely on board. In about a quarter of an hour, the strength of the wind being expended, it was succeeded by rain, which fell in torrents, drenching the deck, and pouring its utmost fury on the devoted heads of those who were compelled to brave its pelting. In the course of another hour, the rain also ceased, and the moon, shining forth in full splendour, illuminated the whole sky, the gale having subsided into a gentle breeze. Time being very precious in these seas, the men were instantly set to work to point a new top-mast, and to bend another main-sail; and with such good-will did they set about this employment, that when I arose the next morning, I found the schooner under full sail, just as if nothing extraordinary had happened: the only traces of the storm being the broken top-mast, and the remnants of the main-sail; the former was now in the hands of the carpenter, who was busily engaged in sawing it up for fire-wood, and the latter lay upon the quarter-deck, a spectacle which my friend the captain contemplated with a very rueful visage. The loss of a sail is an expensive disaster, and assuredly a depressing one at the commencement of a voyage; however, my friend was not a man to take a thing of the kind much to heart. The wind being light, we progressed slowly, and it was not until the middle of the second night that we rounded the Water Islands, and being guided by the light-house of Malacca, which is situated on the summit of a small hill overlooking the town, anchored safely in the roads a little before day-break.

This being my first visit to Malacca, I hastened upon deck at an early hour, to obtain a view of the town, but was disappointed, every object being enveloped in mist—no uncommon circumstance in these latitudes. By seven o'clock, however, a favourable change took place, and having determined to accompany the captain on his visit to the shore, I entered the gig with him, just as the sun, having dispelled the mist, shone out brightly, and afforded us a view of the quiet little villas peeping through the trees, and forming altogether a very pretty scene. The contrast between these new habitations and the old town is very striking, and produces a pleasing effect. The old Portuguese church, on the top of the hill, now converted into a lighthouse, and several other build-

ings of the same date, with that portion of the walls of the once extensive and strong fortress which had been left undestroyed when this latest relic of Portuguese power and greatness was blown up and mutilated by its new possessors, give an appearance of antiquity to the town, which is not presented by the more recently constructed edifices of Singapore. The mutability of all earthly power and grandeur, thus exemplified by the change so visible in Malacca, once the capital of eastern Asia, brought a pensive feeling to my mind. No longer a place of any importance, the roads, instead of being crowded, as of yore, by craft of every kind, were now only occupied by a single small brig and two or three native prahus, in addition to our own schooner. As I approached a spot filled with historical recollections, and celebrated as being the residence of St. Francis Xavier, who gained the title of Apostle of the Indies—while looking back upon the mistaken policy of the early colonists of Asia, and upon their blind, but certainly sincere, religious zeal, the almost instinctive regret, with which any very serious alteration in places of note inspires the mind, subsided as the hope sprang up that, under British rule, the rich and fertile countries of the Eastern Archipelago would attain to all the blessings attendant on the spread of knowledge and civilisation. After an hour's pull, we entered the narrow and shallow creek which divides the town into two portions, and landed near a small building on the left bank, the present office of the harbour-master. Close to this place we found several European gentlemen, together with a considerable number of Chinese and Malays, congregated for the purpose, it should seem, of hearing the news, having apparently no other occupation to beguile the time, which, at this early period of the day, began to hang upon hand. Amid this group, I recognised a friend in a young Dutchman, a native of the place, who, having expected my arrival, was on the look-out. He met me with a cordial welcome, and a warm invitation for myself and the commandant of the schooner to make his house our own during the short time we proposed to remain at Malacca. As the town did not boast any thing like a respectable hotel, we gladly accepted the hospitality offered, and leaving the captain, who was well acquainted with the place, to make his arrangements with the harbour-master, I accompanied my friend to his residence.

We crossed the creek by a small wooden drawbridge, and entered a spacious street, running along the sea-shore, the portion nearest to the river being occupied by native merchants, and the more distant part by the European residents, and some of the richer Chinese settlers. No sooner had we crossed the river, than our noses were assailed by a strong smell of *balachong*, a preparation of shrimps and small fish, much esteemed by the Malays, as a relish to their curries. This favourite article of food, both in appearance and odour, bears a strong resemblance to caviare, and the people of Malacca being famous for its manufacture, it forms one of the principal articles of export to the Malay countries in the neighbourhood. There are two kinds; the black, which is the most common, proves to the majority of Europeans a very great nuisance, the effluvia being very offensive; the better sort, or the red *balachong*, is made either of the spawn of shrimps or the shrimps themselves, which, after boiling, being exposed to the sun to dry, are pounded in a mortar with salt, and a small quantity of water, for the purpose of rendering the mass sufficiently moist to be made into cakes: the same method being employed for the black or cheaper kind, which is made of small fish, and which of course becomes highly flavoured in the process. The Malay and Chinese inhabitants, whom I encountered in the walk, were well clad, and appeared to be also well fed, and perfectly contented; but I was struck by the absence of that common

and civility which is so remarkable at Singapore. Several of the Chinese shopkeepers, who had evidently got fat upon their gains, being perfect specimens of sleekness and placidity, exchanged familiar greetings with my friend. His long residence in the place had rendered him well acquainted with all the inhabitants, and the good-humour and excellent understanding, which seemed to be established amongst these different members of the community, told well for all parties. In the course of our walk, we encountered several Malay traders, with yellow canes, commonly called Penang lawyers, cockatoos, parrots, and knick-knacks of various kinds to dispose of to the new comers, our vessel having been speedily descried. Some of these people stopped to accost me, at the same time presenting samples of rice, fruit, and other commodities, with which they were desirous to supply the ship. All appeared to be eager to sell, but they were not pressing in the endeavours to accomplish this object: thus strongly contrasting with the importunate venders of similar articles to be met with on the beach at Madras, or the ghauts of Calcutta. These people had an air of independence, and at the same time a respectful manner, together with an appearance which seemed to be acquired by domestic habits and strict attention to business, circumstances which would surprise those who had formed their opinion of the Malays from the sweeping censures cast upon them by writers who make no distinction between different tribes, and characterise the whole as pirates and murderers. Long intercourse with Europeans has doubtless done much for the inhabitants of Malacca, but their manifest improvement, under the fortunate circumstances in which they have been placed, proves that the Malays can understand and appreciate the advantages to be gained by the adoption of those habits and usages which the progress of civilisation has introduced.

A short and very agreeable walk brought us to the house of my friend, Mr. B., which was truly Dutch in the neatness and comfortable-looking air of its exterior. This snug dwelling was of two stories, and prettily situated in a compound tastefully laid out with plantations of shrubs and flowers, the whole reminding me strongly of the suburban residences in the neighbourhood of Cape Town. Entering, I found myself in a large hall, extending the entire length from the front to the back of the mansion, in which, at the farther end, the mother of my friend and his three sisters were seated at breakfast—the master of the house, and father of the family, having departed early in the morning for an estate belonging to him at several miles distance. The table being spread with all the good things usually congregated at an Indian breakfast, I made ample amends for my long abstinence. At the conclusion, I removed my chair to the back verandah, which opened into a garden laid out in the Dutch taste, and remarkable for the beauty of its flowers, and the precision of its arrangements. The young ladies of the family brought their work-tables to the same place, where we enjoyed the delightful coolness of the atmosphere, which renders the mornings and evenings at Malacca so agreeable. My friend's sisters had received their education at an English school at Penang; their conversation was lively, and we were at no loss for topics. At five o'clock, we sat down to a sumptuous dinner, the numerous dishes served up including many dainties both animal and vegetable, which, owing to the culpable indifference shown by the British residents to these matters, have not been yet introduced at Singapore. Indeed, Malacca may be called the garden of the new settlement, which is dependent upon it for various supplies: so little attention, in fact, having been paid to agricultural pursuits, that the colonies have not sufficient fodder for the subsistence of cattle, and are in-

debted for beef to the place whence they have taken most of the loads which it formerly enjoyed. The mangosteen, the pride of the Indian Archipelago, has not yet been cultivated at Singapore, although there is no reason to believe that it would not flourish as luxuriantly there, as in the islands in which it is grown. Malacca is famous for this delicious and much esteemed fruit; it also possesses another which, with the inhabitants at least, is in still greater repute. This is the dukkus, a species of li-chi, but larger and finer, and differing somewhat in shape, being round instead of oval. It is not reckoned advisable to indulge very freely in the mangosteen, while any quantity of the dukkus may be eaten with safety, it being wholesome and nutritious, as well as richly flavoured and refreshing. Parties are often made by the residents of Malacca into the interior, for the purpose of eating dukkus during the season. The company proceed to one of the country residences, at some ten or twelve miles distance, and after a plentiful supply of the fruit, and much flirting and laughter, finish the day with a ball, returning home, notwithstanding the fatigue they have endured, in great spirits, and ready for any amusement that may fall in the way.

In the course of the evening, I accompanied Mr. B. in his gig into the country. Our road conducted us some distance along the beach, and leaving the Anglo-Chinese College, a large wooden building, on the right hand, we struck at once into the interior. The most remarkable objects which presented themselves, during our drive, consisted of two small hills, at the back of the town, forming the Chinese burial-ground. This cemetery was covered with monuments of various descriptions, and indeed every sort and size, many being nearly hidden from view by the surrounding brushwood, which, however, was not permitted to encroach upon the last resting-places of the dead. The care taken to preserve these tombs was manifest from the occupations of several of the Chinese colonists, whom we observed to be busily employed in removing the weeds from the vicinity of the graves of their deceased relatives: the pious respect, shown by the people belonging to the Celestial Empire to the memory of the dead, forms a pleasing trait in the national character, and affords an example which we, who pride ourselves upon superior mental refinement, might follow with advantage. We returned to the town by a different route, and while passing a tasteful little Chinese edifice, situated in the midst of an extensive plantation, I was rather surprised to hear myself accosted by name. We immediately pulled up, and in the person who addressed me, I recognised an old acquaintance, a Chinese merchant, who had accompanied me, about twelve months previous to this meeting, in a voyage from Batavia to Singapore. Sending out a little boy to hold the horse, he requested us to alight, and having entered the house, we were received by the wife of our host, a good-looking Malayan Chinese, much younger than himself, who placed a tray before us, containing a tea-pot, and several small Chinese tea-cups without handles. While partaking of the refreshing beverage, "which cheers but not inebriates," half-a-dozen plump sucking-pig-looking little children, their heads closely shaved, with the exception of a plaited lock over each ear, crowded round me, partly attracted, no doubt, by the toys and sweet-meats with which one of my jacket-pockets were usually stored, to meet the demand on such occasions.

My Chinese friend had emigrated about twenty-five years before from his native country. Being at that period in very narrow circumstances, he laboured for several successive years in the tin mines of Sookoot, a native state to the northward of Malacca; working hard at this employment, until he had amassed

a considerable sum. Believing that he had acquired sufficient capital to set up in business, he removed to Singapore, which just at that time had been founded by Sir Stamford Raffles, and commencing the world in a new capacity, that of a merchant, by the continual exercise of his industry, he greatly increased his property. Not, however, considering himself to be rich enough to return with credit to his own country, and being desirous to enjoy the blessings of domestic life, he again changed his place of abode, proceeding to Malacca, where he married, and purchased the estate on which we now found him. Continuing his mercantile pursuits, he had been in the habit of making an annual visit to Java, in the furtherance of these commercial views; but as his family increased, his home became more endeared to him, and he seemed now to be a fixture on his estate, notwithstanding a still ardent desire to visit the tombs of his fathers. The memory of the dead, in fact, was the only tie which attached him to his native country, for he had formed many friendships at Malacca, and having chosen a spot for his residence which he had beautified after his own fancy, he tasted in the bosom of an affectionate family all the happiness which competence and domestic comfort can afford. He had cropped his plantations, which were laid out to the best advantage, and were also highly productive, with pepper and *siri* leaf, the harvest of each affording him a considerable income.

Although my Chinese friend must be deemed a very fortunate person, his career does not afford a remarkable instance of similar prosperity; numbers of his countrymen, who have emigrated from the Celestial Empire with barely sufficient money to land them upon a foreign coast, having met with equal success in the reward of their industry and good conduct. It was, however, very pleasing to contemplate him in his peaceful retirement, where he had surrounded himself with objects reminding him strongly of that far-off land, to which he often turned in pensive thought, content with his present lot, but still cherishing a wish to tread his native earth once more.

My charioteer being well acquainted with the road, the absence of lamps did not retard our progress, and arriving without accident at the place of our destination, we entered the house, which was lighted up for the reception of company, a large party, chiefly consisting of the relatives of the family, being assembled. Among the group I remarked two Portuguese priests, whose closely shaven heads, and sombre garments, appeared to be somewhat out of place in the midst of so gay a party. Although few, if any, of the company professed the Roman Catholic religion, these reverend personages appeared to be great favourites, and their popularity augured well for the absence of that fierce bigotry and party spirit, which in small places are so frequently the bane of society. One of these priests, who was seated at the piano, particularly attracted my attention; he played some Italian airs with great taste, and to ears like my own, accustomed to nothing save the simple, pleasing, but certainly very unscientific, music of the Malays, it was delightful to listen to these captivating melodies. The padre, however, speedily relinquished his seat to one of the ladies, who struck up a quadrille, which proved a signal to the active portion of the gentlemen present to choose their partners, and the floor was instantly covered with dancers. One of the priests also kindly approached me, and took a prominent part in conversation. He was a native of Macao, and had received his education at the college of that place; he proved to be an agreeable companion, anxious to receive as well as to impart information, asking many questions which showed that very general knowledge is not considered essential to monastic education, although he himself was desirous of

acquiring it. Unprepared for the very charming society to which I had been so fortunately introduced at Malacca, the contrast it afforded to that which I had found at places where a greater degree of refinement might have been expected, was particularly gratifying. In some of the settlements in Dutch India, the male and female portion of the community do not join in social amusements, except upon some rare occasions, such as a ball, or other formal entertainment, the gentlemen usually spending their evenings at a club, or other public institution, while the ladies amuse themselves at home as well as they are able—a system which is productive of evil to both parties, since each must be equally indebted to the other for that moral and mental improvement, which it is difficult, nay almost impossible, for either to acquire alone. To so great a degree is this impolitic alienation carried, that even at the theatre, in some places, the men and women sit in different parts of the house: the result is what may be expected—the former being profligate and very frequently coarse in their manners, while the latter sink into a state of mental degradation, and become foolish, injudicious mothers, and tyrannical mistresses of families. How different was the aspect of things at Malacca! here were to be found intelligent women, whose male relatives, anxious to procure for them all the advantages which could be obtained in the remote part of the world, whither their destiny had conducted them, had received the best education this region could afford. Their accomplishments might not perhaps be upon a par with those which in the present highly cultivated state of the female mind astonish us in the capitals of France and England, but they were sufficient to render them most agreeable and intellectual companions, and to show that the most had been made of every thing within their reach. The dress, amusements, and mode of thinking of the ladies of Malacca, are all European; and there was nothing save the foreign air of the house, and the appearance of the attendants, to remind me that I was within the tropics, domesticated in an obscure spot, in a part of the world which rarely engages the attention of persons, however well informed.

The Indian Archipelago, associated as it has been with the recollections of Dutch conquest and enterprize, has faded from the mind, as the colonial importance of Holland has declined; and excepting to those merchants whose commercial speculations have been directed towards it, has excited a very slight degree of interest in modern times. It afforded, perhaps, a momentary attraction to the general reader, upon the publication of the works of Sir Stamford Raffles and others, but not being sufficiently followed up to render the impression permanent, people, for the most part, are quite content with the modicum of information they have acquired, and care little or nothing for one of the most beautiful and fertile portions of the known world. To a resident, the very confined nature of the society at Malacca must be a disadvantage, since it is not always possible to maintain the good understanding which subsisted between the members composing it at the period of my visit, and when any thing akin to animosity breaks out in a narrow circle, there must be an end to social intercourse of every kind. The project, however, of building a steamer, to run as a packet between Penang and Singapore, touching at Malacca, will do much towards the improvement of society in all these places, supplying topics of conversation, and directing the attention of the persons interested in the scheme to the products of the neighbouring countries likely to facilitate it. Thus, in consequence of the great expense attendant upon the purchase of coals in the straits, it was proposed to resort to Borneo for the purpose of procuring this necessary adjunct to steam-navigation; coal-mines having been

found in this most productive island within an easy distance from the sea. The steamer would be found useful in conveying opium to Sambas, and the east coast of the peninsula, at those seasons in which the voyage could not be performed by the small open boats usually employed in this trade. Putting, however, any extensive commercial adventures out of the question, the establishment of a rapid means of communication between the settlements of the straits, for the conveyance of the court on circuit, and of letters, goods, and passengers, cannot fail to be productive of the greatest advantage. In Malacca, where the dull monotony of life is only broken in upon by the occasional visit of some passing ship, like that in which I was a passenger, the arrival of parties from the neighbouring settlements, and the more ready transmission of news from those larger and gayer places, would give an impulse to society, which, notwithstanding the easy footing on which it is placed, is at present wanting. During my brief sojourn, I saw nothing but the agreeable portion of the picture; but, though fascinated for the moment by the charms and graces which met my view—the natural beauty of the scene, its valuable products, and the capabilities of turning them to the best account,—an active spirit, I believe, upon reflection, would not be satisfied to wear out its energies in this fairy scene.

At day-break, the voice of my friend aroused me from a pleasant slumber, with the intelligence that the vessel was under weigh. The wind, he said, was fair, and he hoped before night to be many miles from Malacca. An unfinished sleep, and the remembrance of the happiness enjoyed on the preceding day, prevented me from sympathizing in this hope. I had not tasted so much real gratification for many years, and I would gladly have remained a short time longer in the indulgence of tastes and feelings which had seldom been elicited before. I consoled myself, as well as I could, by reflecting that the longer I remained, the less willing I might be to depart, and that being called upon to carve out my own fortunes in the world, I must not yield to the first temptation that fell in my way. Frequently, however, during my subsequent wanderings, have my thoughts recurred with feelings half pleasurable, half painful, to the happy day that I spent in this land of genuine hospitality.

INDIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

THE infinite variety in the metrology of India is a great evil, demanding, perhaps, a more prompt remedy than that which arises from the difference of laws, whilst a uniformity of weights and measures might be more easily devised, if not introduced, than a general code. A writer in the *Madras Journal of Literature* for January suggests that, as the newly-coined rupee is a measure of length and weight certified by Government; as it is easily applicable and constantly at hand, it might be made the universal standard. Its diameter is one-tenth of a foot. In lieu of making the relation of measures to weights depend on *paddy* (rice in the husk), he would have it depend on *water*. He adds: "Coins might be made vehicles of useful information. Their relations to one another, and their weight and measurement, might all be stamped on them, instead of the gratuitous '*one rupee*,' and '*yek roopace*,' I do not see why the English digits and alphabet might not be inscribed on the reverse of the copper and silver coin, &c. The moralist would be pleased to see knowledge and riches thus go together."

DR. LANG'S "ACCOUNT OF NEW SOUTH WALES."*

OUR Australasian colonies have now attained such a degree of importance in themselves, and are establishing so many links of connexion with the mother-country, that they begin to possess a sufficient amount of interest to attract readers to works descriptive of them,—of the physical nature and capabilities of the country, which loudly invites emigration thither, and of the intellectual and moral character of the colonial community. We devoted a few pages in our August Journal to this subject, chiefly with reference to the effects produced, by the principles which have been applied to the government of the colony, on its morals; the work before us affords us another opportunity of reviewing its condition and prospects under other aspects.

Dr. Lang has defined the object of his work: first, to show the history, tendency, and working of the transportation system, as it regards the Australian colonies; second, to exhibit the present state of New South Wales in particular; third, to promote the emigration of reputable families, by pointing out the line of policy which should be pursued in order to secure the welfare of the colony. We think it will be convenient to our readers to have at once the opinions of Dr. Lang—a gentleman who has been some years naturalized in New South Wales, and who has enjoyed many facilities for observation there—on these points distinctly stated.

On the subject of transportation, Dr. Lang admits that the system, as it has hitherto been administered in New South Wales, has in a great measure proved a failure; but he maintains that the failure has not arisen from any thing inherent in the transportation system itself, but has rather been the necessary result of a vicious state of things in the Australian colonies: of all species of punishment, he is persuaded, under a proper system of management, transportation would be found to combine, in the highest degree, all the requisites which Archbishop Whately includes in his idea of secondary punishment, in being humane, corrective, cheap, and formidable.†

Of the present state of New South Wales, under Governor Bourke, in comparison with by-gone times and preceding administrations, he speaks in very favourable terms. He professes to belong to neither of the political parties which divide the colony, and he entertains no fears for its general welfare or advancement, whether the Patriotic Association—"a sort of colonial Rag-fair, attended by all the blustering attorneys of the colony"—or the petitioners for a mere extension of the colonial council, should succeed with the Home Government. His own opinion, on the subject of political administration, is that, as the colony is evidently in a state of rapid transition, and the proportion of the free emigrants fast increasing,

* An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, both as a Penal Settlement and as a British Colony. By JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D., Senior Minister of the Scots Church, and Principal of the Australian College, Sydney, New South Wales. 2d Edit. Two Vols. 1837. Valpy.

† On this subject, Dr. Lang has recently developed his views in a work specially devoted thereto, entitled "Transportation and Colonization."

and as the whole aspect and character of its society will consequently be, in all likelihood, completely changed, and the influence of the emancipists neutralized, within a limited period, it would be much better to refrain from establishing a permanent form of legislative government, such as a House of Assembly, for the present; and to extend and increase the powers of the Council, for which he is an advocate, as a temporary measure.

On the last head, he is of opinion that, by carrying out the important principle adopted by his late Majesty's Government, in regard to the alienation of Crown land in the Australian colonies (by which the lands are sold and the purchase-money applied to the encouragement of immigration), and by checking the demoralizing system of emigration from the mother-country, which sacrificed the interests of the colony "to subserve the private interests of an unprincipled London jobber, in the matter of female emigration," Great Britain will be enabled to pursue "a course the most profitable to herself and her colonies, and the most interesting to the genuine philanthropist."

Having thus given a brief summary of the results at which Dr. Lang has arrived, we shall hastily glance at some of the contents of his work.

The initial chapters are devoted to a history of the discovery of New Holland, of its settlement, and of the policy adopted by the successive governors, of whose administrations he has given an interesting, and, generally speaking, impartial review.

Soon after the discovery of the vast territory of New Holland, the British Legislature, in consequence of the crowded state of the gaols, determined to found a penal settlement on its coast, in order "to rid the mother-country of the intolerable nuisance arising from the daily increasing accumulation of criminals;" to afford a suitable place for their safe custody, punishment, and ultimate reformation; and to form a British colony out of the reclaimed criminals, in addition to the families of free emigrants. This scheme Dr. Lang justly characterises as "the most interesting and the noblest experiment that had ever been made on the moral capabilities of man;" and we have no doubt that, had it commenced at the present day, and been carried on upon the principles which experience and more enlightened views have suggested for the treatment of criminals, it would have succeeded.

The first Governor of the colony, which was formed in 1787, by the importation of 600 male and 250 female convicts, was Captain Arthur Phillip, of the Royal Navy. The difficulties which this gentleman had to encounter, in the formation of such a colony, some of which had not been foreseen or had not been provided against, were met with much firmness and judgment on his part. He endeavoured with zeal, perseverance, and benevolence, to conciliate the aborigines of the soil on which we thus discharged the depraved dregs of our population. But the aggressions of the convicts, and the natural resentment of the blacks, formed an excuse for expeditions against the latter; "and many of them," says Dr. Lang, "I believe, often with but little necessity, fell before the bullets of the mili-

tary. There is black blood, at this moment, on the hands of individuals in good repute in the colony of New South Wales, of which all the waters of New Holland would be insufficient to wash out the deep and indelible stains." Governor Phillip took the best steps he could, by means of reward and encouragement, to repress immorality, and to induce the immigration of free settlers, "without which," he told the Government at home, "the country cannot be cultivated to advantage;" and several families were accordingly sent, at the public expense, in 1796. Of the first four grants of land to private individuals in the colony (in 1791), three, comprising 260 acres, were made to free persons, and one of thirty acres to an emancipated convict. The proportion of grants to the latter class was subsequently increased; but the precautions which the Governor took evince, as Dr. Lang remarks, judgment in adapting the means at his command to the end which the Legislature had in view.

After administering the affairs of the infant colony for five years, Captain Phillip was succeeded by Captain Hunter, R.N. This gentleman did not arrive till 1795, the colony being governed during the three years ensuing after Captain Phillip's departure, by the commanding officer of the New South Wales Corps, the culpable dealings of the officers of which corps in the colony, their being allowed to retail spirits, their dissolute habits, and their rendering the resources of the Government indirectly subservient to their own private interests, Dr. Lang says, "entailed ten thousand sorrows" on it. Governor Hunter was a man of sound judgment, unexceptionable principles, and warm benevolence; but he was counteracted by the officers of the corps; though agriculture made considerable progress during his administration, and the prospects of the colony consequently improved.

The third Governor (1800) was Captain King, R.N., who, with Captain Hunter, had accompanied Governor Phillip to the colony, in the *Sirius*. He had the rough manners and uncourtous bearing of a seaman; and though anxious to promote the welfare of all ranks, being irritable and irascible when thwarted in his measures, he left things to take their course, which, in such a place, must needs be a bad one. "He had evidently formed but a low idea of the capabilities of the colony, and as he found that 'he could not make farmers of pick-pockets,' to use his own expression, he thought it unnecessary to expend further labour in the fruitless experiment." He became embroiled with the New South Wales Corps, whose influence in the colony and at home neutralized his own, and, as a counterpoise, he brought forward the emancipated convicts, to whom he granted licenses for the sale of spirits. A general dissolution of morals and relaxation of penal discipline followed; marriage was disregarded; the civil power was inert; virtuous industry was depressed; and bands of runaway convicts traversed the country, committing fearful atrocities. He was succeeded in 1806 by another officer of the navy, Captain Bligh, of the *Bounty*.

The first measure of this gentleman, in obedience to orders from home, was the abolition of the monopolies enjoyed by the New South Wales

Corps, especially of the sale of spirits, the barter of which article was now adopted by all classes, in lieu of currency: labour and the necessaries of life were paid for in ardent spirits. The profits derived by the officers of the corps from the general traffic in this article were enormous, and the prospect of losing them was intolerable. This provocation, and the unpopularity of the Governor amongst the wealthier colonists, in consequence of his philanthropic measures to provide against the exaction from the poorer of high profits, in times of scarcity, prepared a mine, which exploded through an injudicious act of incivility towards Mr. John Macarthur, a merchant, but formerly captain and paymaster in the New South Wales Corps. The commander of the Corps (Major Johnston) took the extreme measure* of arresting the Governor and assuming the Government, for which act of mutiny he was subsequently brought to a court-martial in England and cashiered.

The administration of Governor Bligh was too short to admit of its being fairly appreciated. He was passionate, and extremely irascible; but Dr. Lang considers that he had no other end in view than the dispensation of impartial justice, and the general welfare of the colony. He was followed by Lieut.-colonel Macquarie, under whose government, from 1809 to 1821, very material changes took place in New South Wales. Some regard this era as the commencement of the prosperity of the colony; but Dr. Lang qualifies this eulogium. The New South Wales Corps was now ordered home, and replaced by the 73d Foot, the Governor's own regiment. Under great advantages, Governor Macquarie had the remodelling of the whole political and moral frame-work of the colony completely in his power; with a comparatively unlimited command of British money and convict labour, he had the experience of twenty years to guide him in their application; but, according to Dr. Lang, he did not avail himself judiciously of his position. His exertions to form roads and open lines of communication between the different settlements in the colony, he admits, are "above all praise." His great achievement in this way is the road across the Blue Mountains to Bathurst, 130 miles from Sydney, which opened an extensive tract of pasture-land. Building, however, was carried to excess—it was a mania with this Governor. The number of public buildings erected by him, some of very questionable utility, is prodigious. Commissioner Bigge remarks, that it was Governor Macquarie's misfortune "to mistake the improvement and embellishment of towns for proofs of the solid prosperity of the colonists." This outlay of money and convict labour, instead of benefiting the colony, tended to demoralize it, by interfering with agricultural improvement, and by congregating the emancipated convicts in the towns. Concentration, in such a population as that of New South Wales, is a sure means of demoralization; and the lavish expenditure of the Governor, leading to this concentration, neutralized his judicious scheme for raising an agricultural population from the class of emancipated convicts. "It is a notorious fact," says Dr. Lang, "that by far the greater

* On the 20th January 1806, the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the colony.

number of Governor Macquarie's grants of this kind were never taken possession of by the grantees, but were sold immediately, and generally for rum." The Governor, moreover, pushed his scheme of elevating the emancipated class to excess; he suffered his own rule, limiting the alienation of grants to this class, to be violated; he neither encouraged nor countenanced the free emigrant settlers; and practically, his maxim was, that it was a country for the reformation of convicts, and free people had no right to come to it. He appointed an emancipist a magistrate, and it is imputed to him, that he declared there were only two classes in the colony—those who had been convicted, and those who ought to be. The advancement of the emancipists was, consequently, made without reference to good character, and the lavish manner in which tickets of leave, and even emancipation, were granted, and the eagerness to "bring forward" the emancipists—an object abstractedly good, but injudiciously pursued—tended to deteriorate the society, to raise additional barriers between the two classes of colonists, and to convert transportation into a desirable boon, instead of a punishment. These errors were of the understanding, not the heart. Governor Macquarie was a man of energy, which sometimes gave his measures the character of despotic; but he undoubtedly communicated an impulse to the advancement of the colony.

Major-general Sir Thomas Brisbane was the next governor (1821), and being member of an ancient family, a distinguished military officer, and a man of science, his appointment was hailed as an omen of the rapid progress of New South Wales under his rule. Dr. Lang, who speaks from his own observations (having arrived in the colony in the year 1823), and with a presumed bias in favour of a countryman, describes him as a man, with the very best intentions, devoid of energy of mind and the decision of character necessary to carry those good intentions into effect. His disinclination for business threw the Government into the hands of irresponsible inferiors, some of whom were as remarkable for want of integrity as for incapacity; and the consequence was that, while the advancement of the colony was but indifferently studied, arbitrary acts of injustice and oppression were perpetrated in the Governor's name, a despicable system of espionage prevailing, under which no honest man was safe. The capabilities of the country, however, having been developed and made known under the vigorous Macquarie administration, a tide of emigration continued to flow towards the Australian shores, with a steadily increasing velocity, during the whole period of Sir Thomas Brisbane's government. The free emigrants were generally of a higher station in society; some had been gentlemen farmers, others respectable landholders, in the mother-country. Settlements extended in the interior, and the convicts were more beneficially employed than they had been under the previous administration (which had exhausted this species of labour in useless building), by being distributed amongst these free settlers: so steadily did the demand on their part for convict labour increase, that, during the succeeding Government, there were at one time applications for two thousand convict labourers

unsatisfied. Dr. Lang argues from hence, that the discouragement of free emigrants by Governor Macquarie was impolitic in the extreme; that had this class of settlers been early encouraged, the rise and influence of the emancipist body, as a separate class—a fruitful source of perplexity and disunion—would have been avoided. This result has happened in Van Diemen's Land, where there has been a greater and earlier influx of free emigrants, and where, consequently, the emancipists are never heard of as a separate and influential body.

One of the most impolitic measures of this Government was the sudden change of the circulating medium from sterling to a colonial currency, which seems to have worked not only much distress, but an injustice which could scarcely have been foreseen. The debts of the small settlers had been contracted in sterling, and the price at which they sold their wheat to Government being fixed in currency, they were unable to meet the demands of their rapacious creditors, who seized and sold their farms for one-fourth of their value. This was in 1823, and Sir Thomas was ordered home in 1825. Interior discovery had advanced during his government, and the large river, which flows into Moreton Bay, and bears his name, is one of the geographical discoveries made in his time.

Sir Ralph Darling arrived at the close of the year 1825. This gentleman continues to be the object of so much party virulence, that it is somewhat daring in Dr. Lang to attempt a sketch of his administration. He has, however, done so, and with an appearance of temper and impartiality, endeavouring to do justice to Sir Ralph, in spite of "the ill-judged officiousness of his friends and the malice of his enemies." He thus draws his character:

General Darling's was by no means a mind of the first order, but his talents were perhaps superior to those of the generality of mankind. He had naturally a correct judgment, a strong sense of justice, and a keen discernment of propriety: neither was he destitute of those qualities of the heart, without which the higher powers of intellect are oftener a curse than a blessing to mankind. Indeed, I am fully persuaded, that on his arrival in New South Wales, General Darling was sincerely desirous of discharging the duties of his station with credit to himself, with satisfaction to his superiors, and with general benefit to the colony.

The drawbacks, in his opinion, were to be traced to the habits of his military education, which disposes a mind of secondary rank to exact implicit obedience from inferiors, and to regard a demonstration of resistance as rebellion. Whilst a public spirit was growing up in the colony, and the press began to be insolent in its criticisms, the doctrine that it was safe to put down disaffection by the strong arm was urged, and, in such a place, with some show of justice, and all opposition was mistaken for disaffection: these circumstances, together, are sufficient to explain why the Government of Sir Ralph Darling, in spite of the benefits it conferred on the colony, should be bitterly censured. In order to attach a party to the Government, lucrative offices and indulgences were bestowed; hence

arose a system of partiality, and the party into whose hands the Governor virtually surrendered himself being exclusionists in everything, the reformers in politics, those who were prosecuted for libel, the emancipists, and all persons labouring under disabilities, formed a nucleus around which all the discontented congregated. The order introduced into his government, his great attention to business, the regulations he devised to correct abuses, especially with respect to grants of land, were merits which party hostility overlooked, and Governor Darling was the object of incessant attack whilst his authority lasted, was threatened with impeachment, and has been followed vindictively into his retirement.

Dr. Lang treats of four remarkable epochs in the government of General Darling, each of which, he says, might almost constitute an era in the history of the colony—the era of agricultural excitement, that of agricultural depression, that of drought, and that of libels. The first was produced by the sudden impulse given to farming pursuits by the formation of the Australian Agricultural Company, which forced the price of stock to an artificial height. A three years' drought, following what Dr. Lang calls "the sheep and cattle mania," brought on the era of depression, which occasioned a lamentable sacrifice of property. The era of drought was the years 1827, 1828, and 1829. The libel era commenced with the oft-told tale of the punishment of Sudds and Thompson, two privates of the 57th regiment, who committed a felony for the express purpose of exchanging the situation of soldiers for the more preferable one of convicts, and whom the Governor, exercising the plenitude of his authority, took from the civil power, and punished in an unusual manner, by placing iron collars, with projecting spikes, on their necks, and chains on their legs. The object was a legitimate one, to deter others from so dangerous a course by severe example; but the measure was illegal as well as impolitic, and one of the men, Sudds, labouring at the time under an affection of the liver, though this was not known to General Darling, died. The opposition press, led by Dr. Wardell, a colonial barrister, launched its invectives at the Governor for this alleged crime, and the ill-judged course pursued by the Government paper exasperated the opposition. From this time, the administration of General Darling sunk deeper and deeper into odium, and his want of tact and dexterity in dealing with his opponents, whom he endeavoured to crush by the weight of power, gave them manifest advantages over him. In another twenty years, it is probable that Governor Darling's merits will appear more prominent, and his errors less obtrusive. His administration had great impediments to struggle with, and what he did for the colony, particularly in the prosecution of interior discovery, in local improvements, and in the correction of abuses, entitles him to be considered its benefactor.

His successor, the present Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, who arrived in 1831, has, latterly, with the aid of a Legislative Council, effected much good. His administration has been characterised by vigour and firmness, but has not been distinguished by any peculiar quality. In most of his acts, Dr. Lang says, he has been rather passive than active, doing

merely what the progressive advancement of the colony and the state of its anomalous society rendered necessary to be done. These acts, however, have produced an important effect upon the interests of the colonists. The laws passed by him have restrained the power of magistrates over convicts, regulated the assignment of these persons, and declared emancipists possessing certain property qualified to serve on criminal juries, a measure respecting which opinion is much divided.

Such is an outline of Dr. Lang's history of the various governments of New South Wales; it is, probably, in the aggregate, fair and candid. The reflection cannot but obtrude itself, that, amongst the difficulties with which this fine colony has had to struggle, an injudicious selection of local rulers has been a grave one. A convict settlement, indeed, presents nothing to allure a man of rank, and its harassing cares plant many a thorn in the pillow of an indolent man; yet it is not without attractions to one who desires scope for ambition of a purely patriotic character. Had the Home Government, which was not embarrassed in its choice by political influence, as in filling more desirable posts, exercised a moderate degree of discernment, it might have employed and rewarded suitable talents; and, although the population, agriculture, and trade of the colony might not thereby have passed its present limits, or its public or private buildings have multiplied, the elements of its society might have been materially different.

The only other part of his work which we think it necessary to touch upon, is that wherein he treats of the advantages which New South Wales holds out to emigrants. We shall let Dr. Lang speak on this point for himself:

There are many respectable families in the mother-country possessing property to the amount of £2,000 to £5,000, but having no means of providing for the settlement of their children, and having nothing else to depend on for the future than the small income now derivable in Great Britain from property of that amount. To such families, New South Wales presents a most eligible prospect for effecting a comfortable settlement. With a comparatively small portion of their capital, they could purchase a farm of moderate extent, partially improved, in one of the settled districts of the colony, where, in all likelihood, they would find respectable and agreeable society in their immediate neighbourhood, and be surrounded with the comforts and appliances of civilisation. A farm, or small estate, of the kind I have just mentioned, would furnish a respectable family with all the necessaries and with many of the comforts of life. If they chose to embark largely in sheep-farming or in grazing speculations, they could either purchase or rent a tract of land from the Government in the distant interior, where their sheep and cattle could range in safety under the charge of a hired overseer, at the distance of two, or even three hundred miles: but if they chose rather to lend out the remainder of their capital at interest, they could obtain at least ten per cent. with the utmost facility, on security as good as any in England.

Fifteen hundred pounds will in all likelihood be sufficient to land the whole family in the colony, and purchase a partially improved farm or estate, with a good house on it, in a settled part of the country, and within a moderate distance of Sydney; on which, without any farther outlay of capital, they may

obtain all the necessaries and many even of the luxuries of life, and which will afford, moreover, suitable and sufficient employment for the most active mind. Two thousand pounds of their capital invested, at ten per cent. interest, will afford them a yearly return equal to their whole income in England, while the remainder, if invested judiciously in cattle or in sheep-farming, will in all likelihood yield them from twenty to fifty per cent. interest. The circumstances of the emigrants will, therefore, be materially changed for the better, and they will accordingly live in a style somewhat conformable to their larger income. But others will be benefited by this change, as well as the emigrants themselves; for they will no longer be content with the limited supply of Birmingham and Leeds manufactures that they found sufficient in the west of England, and they will consequently be much better customers than they were before to the Birmingham and Leeds manufacturers; whose workmen will of course be better employed, better clothed, better lodged, and better fed, than they were previously to their emigration. They could scarce afford to keep a riding-horse in England; they can now keep a carriage, and of course give employment to the various classes of persons that are engaged in the manufacture of saddlery and of coach-furniture in the mother-country. They now buy tea by the chest, and sugar by the ton, for their large farm establishment; and the classes of merchants, shipowners, and mariners are on that account, as well as in consequence of their greatly increased consumption of British goods, benefited by their emigration to a much greater amount than they would have been by their remaining at home. Nor is that benefit merely indirect; for a family of moderate capital, commencing sheep-farming in the colony, will not have been long resident in New South Wales, before they will be in the way of receiving visits of business from the shipmasters that frequent the port of Sydney, offering to carry home their wool or other colonial produce to London.

As a member of society, the capitalist of £200 per annum, living in retirement in England, is of comparatively little weight in the scale. In New South Wales he becomes an important, and, if he chooses, a highly influential personage. He is able, in some measure, to give the tone to society in his own neighbourhood. To those who are returning, though irresolutely, from the paths of vice, his encouragement gives firmness and resolution, while his virtuous example drives immorality into the shade. If he has the inclination, he has ample means of pursuing plans of benevolence and philanthropy: if he has the spirit, he can even erect an altar in his own vicinity, and cause many to follow him to the sanctuary of God. His advice is asked and taken in matters of government and legislation, and his name is perhaps honourably enrolled in the annals of an empire.

There are other points in the work to which, if we had sufficient space, we should desire to refer, and many amusing sketches, which would relieve the dry statistical details. On the whole, we have been pleased with Dr. Lang's work, though it is not without defects, and perhaps egotism is too obvious. We are glad to see that he has expunged in this edition a passage (vol. i. p. 233) with reference to "a law-officer of the Crown in the colony" in the last (vol. i. p. 182), which was not creditable to him.

HISTORICAL TALES OF THE RAJPOOTS.

NO. II.—STORY OF PERTAP SING AND HURNAT.

OUDEY SING ruled at Bhalotra, on the Loony river; Oudey Sing was ruler, but his younger brother, Pertap, was "a mine of all the Rajpoot virtues." They had great affection for each other. Two hundred villages were under Oudey's sway; and Pertap was his brother's foudar, and had two small villages for his own support. Two hundred and fifty horsemen followed him, all men of approved valour, and of good family, and for each he cherished great esteem, which was reciprocally felt. Daily dinner for the whole was dressed before Pertap's wife, of Rajawut tribe, who allotted each platter according to the rank of the individual, and which was sent out to them by her female domestics, or *golees*. The children of all these followers were so caressed and taken care of by her, that the father of each would have esteemed it glory to give up his head, should Pertap's cause require it. Some of them occasionally suggested to him, how slenderly he was provided for, having but two diminutive hamlets, whilst his elder brother had vast estates; but he heeded them not.

One day, by accident, he passed through Sindrie, which was one of the 'Thala villages of his brother. The ryots, thinking they could not pay too much honour to their master's brother, provided him an entertainment consisting of all that the village could afford. The chiefs took the opportunity again insidiously to remark that his brother, the Rawul, did not give a village like that for his support. Some talked in this strain; but Soorut (Soorto) Khutchy jumped up from the hall, and leaping down, struck his spear into the ground, saying, "This is my government; here will I stay." But Pertap Sing said, "This will never do; bring not the sin of *Haramkhoree* on my head; for to this day, such has never happened in our house. Besides," added he, "my wife is in Jessole." But they replied, "Who will touch your wife? she is daughter to the Rawul." Seeing them all of one mind, he called 'Tuj Pal Jetty, and desired him to choose a lucky hour for taking possession, and sending for his train. The Jetty replied, that such conduct was culpable; but he took the proper time, and Futtch Chund Banya coming to present him a *nuzzerana*, he was made his man of business. The patels and putwarries now appeared, and made their homage and offerings; and the matter becoming public, he set about erecting a fort.

The Rawul despatched a message to his brother, saying he had disgraced his ancestry; but Pertap replied that, in lieu of one village, he might have Rs. 50,000 of land-rent from his estates; but his affection would not let him proceed against his brother, who, in three years, added Rs. 80,000 of territory to Sindrie, and increased his train to one thousand "sons of Rajpoots." He was at the extremity of three kingdoms; he took portions from each, but especially from Jessulmerc.

The Bhatti chief Bagwunt had thirteen sons, each of whom created a *sirrud* (hamlet), with a *kotuc*, or fortified house, of a few Dheel huts. One of the sons was called Hurnat, who plundered a caravan crossing the desert

of two laes, with which he built a fort. The ditch was of stone and mortar, thirty-two cubits broad, and twenty-one deep, with a kind of bridge of planks, which he drew in at pleasure. Hurnat plundered for one hundred coss, in every direction; but it was in disguise, and alone, and on camels, of which he had two of such extraordinary speed, that it brought water into the eyes of inexperienced riders. All disguises he knew, nor could it ever be discovered that Hurnat was the plunderer. He had twelve horses of great value, and these he fed at others' cost.

At the village of Kaloona, in Pergunnah Jytaun, dwelt a charun and a bhat, who cultivated the ground conjointly, but nothing sprung up; whereupon, Sootan, the charun, said to the bhat, that Hurnat, the Bhatti, plundered the country; and proposed to go to him. Packing up some provisions, they set out, and begged their way to Sindrie. Here they arrived in the afternoon; the *uml* (opiate) vessel was filled, and the *goagri** prepared. Pertap Sing was in the midst of his five hundred Rajpoots; shield was clashing against shield when the charun and bhat pronounced their blessing. The bard sang a stave, and was invited to take his *uml*. The charun said: "I have heard the praise of thy father; that he gave horses to charuns and bhats, as well as clothes and good cheer; and what I heard of him, that do I expect from thee." Pertap replied, "Not even a goat: *uml*, bread, and lodging for two days, and a couple of rupees when you depart, is all you will have from me." On this, the charun significantly said, "Give me a person who will shew us the road to Hurnat of Sirrud;" when a Rajpoot began to banter the charun:—"Aye," says he, "go to Hurnat; he gives horses and raiment to charuns and bhats." But he had a messenger only as far as the frontier.

He reached Sirrud, and saw only five huts, and a Sami seated near a fire. He asked when Hurnat could be seen, and the anchorite replied, "in the afternoon, in yonder bastion." He waited patiently, when a boy appeared with a hookah in hand, and a blanket, which he spread on the ground. Hurnat soon came, and took his seat, and the charun bellowed his *soobraj*, or blessing, across the ditch. He said he had come from Kaloona to see him, alone, hearing of his munificence, and that in his way he had halted at Sindrie, when he heard Pertap Sing say, "he would one day or other plunder the Sirrud." Hurnat supposed the charun had come as a spy; he gave him a trifle, and turned him away.

The charun returned to Sindrie, and on entering, encountered one of Pertap's Rajpoots, who began to joke the charun, knowing beforehand that his errand would be fruitless. But the latter, though disappointed, was only the more bent on sowing mischief. He replied, that Hurnat had given them bills for one hundred rupees each, and some cash for road expenses; but, as a friend to the chief of Sindrie, he could not conceal the fact, that Hurnat had declared "he would one day carry the prince of Sindrie to his fort for ransom."

A few days after, a summons came for Rawul Pertap to go to Jodpoor.

* A sort of porridge, half gram, half wheat, eaten after the *uml*.

On going, he took aside his man of business, Futtch Chund, and told him, if he allowed any "camel riders" to enter Sindrie, he would make him his bitter foe. Pertap repaired to Jodpoor, and the banya was very vigilant, writing continually to Jodpoor, desiring Pertap to be quite at ease.

One day, Hurnat disguised himself as a Mindwarra bahora (or money-lender), with a long *dhotee*, and turban of a peculiar kind, his sword rolled up like cloth in a leather bag, and came to Sindrie on an elephant. He was stopped at the gate, and reported to Futtch Chund, who ordered him off; but the Rajpoots at the gate said, "Why forbid muhuts to enter?" and he was accordingly admitted.

The banya had two children; they begged him to let them go to a garden outside, to pluck the heads of *mukhee*, to eat; he at first refused, but as they cried, he gave his consent. Hurnat's spy, who was the Sami, came and whispered his master regarding the children. He got ready his camel, and leading him out of the town, and about two hundred yards beyond it, saw them returning. The spy gave him the signal, and withdrew when he got near. He made the camel lie down, and pretended to be doing something with its saddle. When the children came close, with their conductor, he begged the latter to put his foot on the camel's knee while he mounted. One of the children came close also; his conductor told him to remove further off, but Hurnat encouraged him to approach; and when he came within reach, he seized him by the arm, and sprang with him on his camel. The *bhojah* (conductor) gave the alarm; the banya was afflicted for his son, but more at the dishonour his master would feel at the affront offered to Sindrie. He pursued the thief several coss, but could not even get sight of Hurnat, who conveyed the child to his fort, and delivered him to his wife, enjoining her to tend it more carefully than her own.

In a few days the account reached Jodpoor, and Pertap wrote from thence that he would put his minister to death if he offered a rupee for the child's ransom; that he would soon be there, and if he did not level the robber's fort and scatter every stone over the plain, five coss from the spot where it then stood, he would renounce the name of Rajpoot.

Three months had passed, when Hurnat said, "If this is the way Pertap shows his courage, I will pinch him till he feel it from the toe-nail to his brain; I must die one day, and I will leave a name behind me; besides, this life is a tedious one." Shortly after, with another Rajpoot, he again visited Sindrie, and alighted at a garden, where a bhooe was lying half drunk. He said, "You had better not stay here, for the Rawul has given orders to seize all riders on camels. Hurnat bribed him with four rupees; the bhooe was pleased; when Hurnat said: "I am Hurnat the runner; I will give you the same sum every visit." He told him to take care of his camel, and that he would return at sunset. The other Rajpoot did not like the risk, and told him "he was thrusting his hand into the snake's hole." Hurnat said, "Stay with the camel, and if I join you not in the morning, mount it and away; a thousand horse will not overtake you. When night set in, he went to Sindrie, descended the ditch immediately under the

rawula (women's apartments), ascended an *assapalu* tree, and hid himself in its thick branches. The Rajawutní was, as usual, serving out the meals of her husband's retainers, when it began to rain furiously, and continued for three hours. Hurnat's frame was exhausted with cold, and being an opium-eater, he fainted, and his sword and shield dropped down. The Rajawutní had put her children to sleep after their rice and milk, and was proceeding to her own sleeping-apartment, with her sword and shield, while her damsels attended with lights, when a flash of lightning exposed Hurnat's leg to one of the damsels, who screamed aloud, declaring what she had seen. The Rajawutní exclaimed, she would cut her tongue out if she repeated the soream; that there was no reason to fear, as treble guards surrounded the place, and desired her to go and look. But the damsel was afraid; on which the Rajawutní went herself, when she beheld, indeed, a man clinging to the tree, but insensible. She called, but he made no reply; when with the hilt of her sword she struck him two or three blows, but he felt it not: on this, she made her damsels carry him into the hall, and lay him on a quilt, and throw another very heavy one over him, whilst another kindled a large fire. The heat revived him; the Rajawutní prepared the *um*, and made the damsel give it him. This and the heat made him stretch his limbs, and opening his eyes, he saw the Rajawutní armed; he said to himself, "Hurnat, you are caught at last." The Rajawutní demanded who he was, and desired him to answer truly, or she would slay him. "Mother," he replied "I am Hurnat Sing, the man who seized your banya's son." "This is well," she rejoined; "but what brought you here?" Whereupon he told her his project; "but, mother," said he, "you owe much to the rain, or I would have astonished you."

The Rajawutní now began to reflect on her perilous situation; that, as a woman, the world would entertain notions prejudicial to her honour. So thinking, she gave Hurnat his sword and shield, saying, "Cut-throat, come not here again. I am a woman, and desire not your life; but on a second visit, it will be forfeited. Should I now give the alarm, your death is certain—for men dwell here:" adding, sarcastically, that her husband's absence was not the time for such exploits. Hurnat said he would pay another visit when he returned.

In the morning, when the cattle were going out, and the grinders of meal were on their way to the mills, they got Hurnat out of Sindrie. He related his adventure to his companion. "Well," said he; "you may sleep in the lion's den, if you like it; but may I die the death of a dog if I ever accompany you in these mad expeditions again." Hurnat upbraided him for his cowardice, and thus conversing they reached the Sirrud.

After a long detention at Jodpore, the Raja at last gave Pertap leave to return, making him gifts, and offered him guns and troops, which he refused. He desired a feast might be prepared three coss from Sindrie. The feast was ready, and all the chiefs and ryots met their master; but he was displeased with his minister, Futteh Chund, to whom he would not speak: but the Rajpoots took all the blame upon themselves. At the close of the feast,

having carried a part for his household, towards evening he departed. All was happy. He went to the female apartments, where his aunt told him to take repose; the Rajawutní gave him wine to refresh him after the fatigues of the journey; and both fell asleep.

Hurnat had accounts of all that was going on, and contrived to enter the tent with the retinue. Hiding himself in the *toolsee khana*, at midnight, he ventured forth to look abroad. All was hushed. On he went to the Rawul's apartment, and found him and his wife immersed in sleep. Pertap's dagger was lying by him, and from its case Hurnat took out the scissars, and cut off a whisker, and the *mínduli*, or side-lock, of the Rajawutní's forehead. Putting both in his turban, and replacing the scissars in the dagger-case, he returned to his post in the toolsee khana.

Towards morning, when the children and cows were going forth to the fields, he mixed with the crowd, and got out. Thence he went to the bhooe's garden, and prepared his opium. His companion advised him not to delay; but he replied, "Is not the camel at hand?"

Morning had nearly broke; his adviser again pressed him to depart, saying, "You are every one's foe, and this heedlessness will be your ruin." "Let it come," said Hurnat; "I am a Rajpoot!" Replenishing his hookah, both got on the camel, which, as they chatted together, was suffered to take its own way. Hurnat was delighted with the issue of his adventure, and exhibited the lock and whisker to his companion. "This," said he, "was the game I came after on this occasion; I told the Rajawutní before, that I would see her again when her husband returned; and Saniadevi* enabled me to keep my word." His companion said, "I admire your courage; but thus to 'tie a feud' (*bèn bandna*) with such a foe as Pertap is rash; for you have woke a sleeping lion; so be upon your guard."

When the Rawul awoke, he put his hand to his whisker—it was gone! For very shame, he wrapped his turban round his head, whilst his frame shook with rage. The Rajawutní awoke, and anxiously inquired why he tied his scarf round his head. Looking at her forehead, he saw the love-lock was gone; he said nothing, but handed her a looking-glass. At once she divined the author of her misfortune. Folding her hands, she exclaimed, "I am weak; kill me, I am yours; my father and mother made me yours." She then related her adventure with Hurnat, and affirmed that this was also his doing. Pertap called her *kooti-ca-rând*, and had a mind to put her to death; but she was a woman. "To you," said he, "this is a trifling affair; but to me a serious one; I abjure food, water, and opium." Chutter-bhooj, his foster-brother (*dhabae*), was entering, but was forbid. The Rajawutní said, "Let him enter; he is one of the family." He was told of the disgrace; but he remarked, that it was a brahmin's death to die of hunger, and not fit for a warrior; and bid Pertap take his opium, and swear he would have revenge. The Rawul said: "I had made myself, by small degrees, a name; but it has vanished like the dew-

* Tutelary goddess of the Bhatti tribe.

drop of the morning. "To survive disgrace is not my faith; but I will try revenge." The dhabae said, "Remain quiet, and when I send for you, hasten to me." The foster-brother disguised himself as a gossén, took some gold and silver, and a jogie kanfarri with him, instructed him in his part, and they departed together for Sirrud. The dhabae took up his abode with the Sami, while his companion went to the Patel. He said he came from Raen, in Mairta. The dhabae was well versed in tales and poetry, and could sing the loves of Krishna and Rookmani in so tender a manner as to draw tears from female eyes.

Hurnat came out as usual to his bastion, spreading his blanket to sit on. The Sami told him of his guest, and what a delightful companion he was. Hurnat said he would come and spread his blanket near him. The dhabae was so well disguised, that Hurnat suspected nothing; but was delighted with him, and sent to the Patel to keep him "at his gate," and give him whatever he required. He soon entertained the whole village by his songs of the marriage of Krishna and Rookmani; and, amongst others, Hurnat's mother, who placed her grandchild with the disguised Sami. Thus it went on; by degrees, he was admitted to the gate of the fort, to teach Hurnat's child, and by his songs and stories, he "made the minds of the Rajpoots of the gate his own." He preached to the women; he talked to them of their sins; and nothing but the Bagatji was spoken or thought of.

Hurnat had erected a pavilion on the top of the rampart, where, with his wife, he slept at night and ate in the day. The *Deváli* came; the Rajpoots for the 13th, 14th, and 15th, had their tents at the Patel's, and leave to go to their wives at night. At the Patel's gate, Hurnat's wife, and the wives of the thakoors had their feast apart, and partook of wine and *majoom*. The dhabae despatched the kanfarri to the Rawul, to say "the time was come;" and pointed out a circuitous route, desiring him to take shelter at dark at the *mussân* (where bodies are burnt), under the *khîr* and *jhâl* trees; for that "the keys were in his hands." The kanfarri delivered his message, and rapidly returned to the dhabae, that he might not be missed.

The dhabae now felt so much anxiety, that his heart beat violently, and he sent the kanfarri to the mussân, to see if the party had arrived; but going through the village, he found that the wife of Daôd Pinariah, a cotton beater, had that day died, and was going to be buried. He hastened to inform the Rawul, who concealed himself behind a high bank, till the Pinariah buried his wife.

The wife of Hurnat, and all the chiefs' wives, were immured in Daroo; and about nine o'clock, Hurnat went to the tent, and the Rajpoots to their wives. The dhabae sent to the kanfarri to hasten the Rawul, with his two hundred followers.

Pertap ordered that the body of the Pinariah's wife should be exhumed, and his *golas* put her into a sack. The dhabae was at the gate, which he opened. The tent was unguarded, and Hurnat and the Thakoorant were both lying asleep stupified with opium. The Rawul ordered that the

Thakoorani should be gently raised, so as not to awaken her, and the dead body of the cotton-cleaner's wife be deposited by the side of the valiant Hurnat.

The Thakoorani was carried off by twelve Rajpoots. The motion made her open her eyes, when the Rawul showed his dagger, and declared he would slay her if she uttered a word. She quaked, but was silent, being quite terrified, as she said to herself, "What can this mean? But a few minutes ago, I was drinking *uml pancee*, and laid down to sleep beside my husband! What are these strange faces?" One proposed to carry off Futteh's child; but the Rawul said that was not the time.

Meanwhile, Pertap had collected all the combustibles about the place, and strewed them round where Hurnat was sleeping. He tied the dead body firmly to the bed, and, descending with his prize, he desired the dhabae, as soon as he got outside, to fire the combustibles and the bungalow. The Rawul placed the Thakoorani on horseback, and took the road to Sindrie, when fire was set to the grass. Hurnat awoke, and found himself surrounded by flame—bungalow, bed, all was in a blaze. There were none to afford aid, for they were stupefied with opium. Hurnat exclaimed, "Save the Thakoorani!" But he was scarcely able to save himself—all was consumed!

Grief subdued the heart of Hurnat; he left off plundering, and celebrated the *dooudas*, or twelfth day of his wife's supposed death, with the usual rites, and concluded by sending the bones of the cotton-beater's wife, with great solemnity, to the Ganges.

The Rawul reached Sindrie in safety, and placed Hurnat's wife with his own, desiring her to consider the new-comer as a daughter. Two months elapsed, when Pertap sent a charun to Hurnat with his compliments, and to say that, as "his house had fled" (*i.e.* his wife had died), he made an offer of his friendship, and would give him in marriage his uncle's daughter. Hurnat was highly pleased with the message, and made the charun presents. But he said, "I am now forty years old; why should I again marry?" His chiefs, however, persuaded him to go, and to take the minister's child along with him; and he prepared to "break the *toorun*." The banner was raised in SIRRUD; the bridegroom went to each house, and received a coco-nut and a rupee from each, and the mistress of each house marked the *tiluc* on his forehead. The astrologer was sent for, who fixed upon a lucky hour, and Hurnat departed for Sindrie.

He reached the Rawul's castle, and Pertap commanded his wife to "anoint her daughter with oil;" when the wife of Hurnat begged that her honour might be safe, or she would poignard herself. The Rajawutni said, "My husband must have his whim; you must submit, but I will prevent the knot being tied."

Nothing was heard but sounds of joy; Hurnat had brought five hundred of his relations, and the Rawul had assembled his kin. The bride's approach was announced, and Hurnat advanced to the apartment where

she was with the priest. "Despatch," exclaimed the Rawul, "for the fortunate hour is at hand." The child of Futteh Sing was at this time delivered up, the Rawul politely remarking, that "He had been as safe at Sirrud as any where else." Hurnat reached the *toorun*; the damsels above threw the *chaon** in his eyes; the Rawul shouting, "Bring in the bride!" His wife now entreated him, for God's sake, not to take her outside; observing, that he had carried the jest far enough. The Rawul told the damsels from Sirrud to go to the bride. Astonished, they exclaimed, "Is this our mistress, or is it her ghost?" Hurnat was speechless with surprise. "Have I not often told you," said his wife, at length, "that you were not the only Rajpoot on the earth?" And then she related the whole occurrence; of her abduction, the substitution of the dead body for her own, and the kindness of the Rawul. Stung with mortification, Hurnat was about to stab himself, but was prevented, and his wife exclaimed that she had been treated like a daughter, and that he had no reason to seek death. All was now festivity and mirth; and the Rawul said, since he had adopted his wife as his daughter, he settled Rs. 2,000 a year on her, and now none would dare to jest with Hurnat. But still the story went abroad; the trick played upon Hurnat was told in every village; his dupery became a bye-word, whilst the Rawul's retaliation was heard with delight.

As long as the Rawul lived, Hurnat cherished his friendship, and was received as one of his own Rajpoots. Such a warrior was Pectap—the storehouse of wisdom!

* Flour of *tappu*

SONNET

(*From the Italian of Parini*).

O, gentle sleep! that dost, on footsteps light,
 Through darkness gliding, wave thy noiseless wing,
 And o'er tired, woe-worn mortals hovering,
 In varied and quick-changing forms art dight.
 Speed where my Phillis, all secure of night,
 On downy couch thy silken fetters bind,
 And paint an image on her passive mind,
 Sore woe-begone, and moving to the sight:
 And be *my likeness* in that shade defined
 So true to life, and such my cheek's pale hue,
 That pity in her heart may entrance find.
 Grant, gentle sleep, the boon for which I sue;
 Then at thy shrine, of drowsy poppies twined,
 Two garlands will I offer, moist with dew.

F.

LIFE OF THE FATIMITE CALIPH MOEZZ-LI-DIN-ALLAH.

BY M. QUATHREMÈRE.

(Continued from p. 85.)

THE eunuch Kafur died in the month of Jumadi I., A.H. 357, leaving the sovereignty to Abûlfawaris-Ahmed, son of Ali and grandson of Ikhsâhid, who was only eleven years of age. As the young prince was incapable of ruling by himself, the army elected as regent Hosayn ben-Abd-allah ben-Tagaj, cousin to the young amir by the father's side. Hosayn was prince of the city of Ramlah, and is more than once praised by the poet Motanebbi. It was determined that his name should be pronounced in the prayers, immediately after that of Abûlfawaris-Ahmed. The civil administration was confided to the vizir Abûlfadl-Jafar ben-Forat, and the command of the army to Shemul-Ikhsâhid. Jafar soon rendered himself unpopular by his tyranny and oppression: he caused a vast number of inhabitants of Egypt to be arrested, and extorted from them considerable sums. Amongst the victims of his cupidity was, besides Yacub ben-Keles, of whom I shall speak presently, the Christian Ibrahim ben-Merwan, who had been secretary to Unujur, and Ali ben-Ikhsâhid, whom he arrested and condemned to pay ten thousand pieces of gold.

Instead of exerting himself to calm the discontent he had so imprudently excited, Jafar seems to have been anxious to augment it. In a short time, the troops rose against him; and all Egypt was plunged into disorder. The Turks attached to the family of Ikhsâhid and to Kafur mutinied, and claimed exorbitant sums, which it was impossible to pay them. They opposed the receipt of the duties which those persons were bound to advance who had farmed the different districts of Egypt. Not content with this, they took arms against the vizir, pillaged his house and those of his chief partizans; some went so far as to write to Moezz, inviting him to send an army into Egypt, engaging to promote his object by every means in their power.

Meanwhile, Hosayn, who was in Syria, having been forced to fly before the Karmathians, and to surrender that province to them, returned to Egypt, where he married Fatima, daughter of his uncle Tagaj, and took possession of the entire authority. In consequence of the complaints of the army against Jafar ben-Forat, he arrested the vizir, who was, by his order, put to the torture, and condemned to pay considerable sums. Hosayn governed Egypt for three months. He raised to the rank of vizir his secretary, Hosayn ben-Jabar-Zenjâni; but soon after, he set Jafar ben-Forat at liberty, and entrusted him once more with the administration. Ahmed ben-Ali, the reputed sovereign of Egypt, had but the name, exercising no part of the authority of ruler. Soon after, Hosayn returned into Syria, the beginning of Rabi II., 358. According to several historians, these troubles were not the only calamities with which Egypt, at this period, was afflicted; it was desolated by famine, succeeded by a contagious disease, and both carried off, at Fostat and its vicinity, 600,000 persons, without reckoning the corpses consigned to the river; and many of the inhabitants were reduced to misery, and constrained to emigrate. In fact, in the year 356, the increase of the Nile had not exceeded twelve cubits and nineteen fingers; and the preceding year, the inundation had not reached its ordinary limit.

Moezz, taking advantage of all these circumstances, prepared seriously an expedition against Egypt. In the preceding two years, he had caused wells to be dug in the route to Egypt, and palaces to be built in the places where he

proposed to halt. He was busied in these preparations, when, on the last day of Jamadi II., couriers from Egypt apprised him of the death of Kafur, and the disorders to which that country was a prey.

He despatched the Slavonian Khasif to the sheiks of the tribe of Kotamah, with this message: "We have resolved, O my brethren, to place in the country of Kotamah trusty men, who will reside in the midst of you, who will receive your alms and the dues from your flocks, and will retain the amount, so that, when circumstances call for it, we may send for what is placed in the hands of these our agents, and have a resource in our exigencies and undertakings." One of the sheikhs, hearing this pretension, answered Khasif fiercely: "Go tell your master, that, by Allah, we will never consent to such a proposal. How dare he require that the Kotamis should submit to pay a capitation-tax, and suffer their names to be recorded, as tributaries, on the registers of the Chancery, whilst God has so long favoured us with a knowledge of Islam, and so recently we have been bound to you by an indissoluble alliance? Our swords are, however, at your disposal, and you may employ them in the East or in the West." Khasif having, on his return, reported this reply, the prince caused a number of Kotamis to come to his court. When they appeared in his presence, he was on horseback, and asked them, with an imposing air, what was the declaration which had been addressed to him in their name. The deputies protested that this reply expressed the sentiments of their whole nation. "In truth, O master," added they, "men such as we are will never consent to pay a capitation-tax, which should be regarded as a fixed annual tribute." Moezz, raising himself in his stirrups, observed to the deputies: "May God abundantly bless you! You are just what I wished to find you. I had no other object but to try you, and to judge what was your disposition after my death."

Moezz, however, received a visit from a person destined to play a distinguished part in the government of Egypt, and respecting whom it is necessary to give some particulars. Abulfaraj-Jacoob ben-Yusuf ben-Keles was a Jew, born at Bagdad. Quitting that city, and retiring into Syria, he took up his residence in the city of Ramlah, where he acted as agent (*vakeel*) of the merchants. As he had contracted debts, which he found himself unable to discharge, he absconded, and proceeded to Egypt, in the time of Kafur-Ikshidi, and entered the service of this prince. He had commercial relations with him, and sold him goods, in payment for which he received assignments on various villages in Egypt. This circumstance gave him opportunities of travelling through the country, and acquiring a knowledge of the state of the villages. As he united to much acquired knowledge and shrewdness, an intelligent mind and great capacity, he possessed very extensive information respecting whatever concerned the lands in Egypt. When he was asked any details respecting the crops of a particular district, the amount of its products, and its external and internal state, the facts he furnished were always most satisfactory. He amassed great wealth, and attained a splendid position. Kafur, who highly appreciated his capacity and his talents for government, one day remarked, "If this man was a Moslem, he would deserve the post of vizir." This speech, being reported to Yacoob, developed the seeds of ambition in him: he took secret instructions in the principles of the Musulman religion, and in the month of Shaban, 356, he entered the great mosque of Fostat, and uttered the morning prayer, whence, escorted by a vast crowd, he appeared before Kafur, who caused him to be invested with a robe of honour. He returned home with the same *cortège*, and received the great functionaries

who came to offer their congratulations : no one thought himself at liberty to dispense with this step. The credit enjoyed by Yacoob excited in the highest degree the hatred and jealousy of the vizir Abûlfadl-Jafar ben-Forat, who opened all the batteries he could against him, and spread every kind of net ; and he endeavoured to compel him to pay 4,500 pieces of gold. Yacoob quitted Egypt in alarm, and proceeded to the Magreb, in the month of Shawal, 357. He arrived at the court of Moezz, who, knowing how to appreciate his talents and capacity, retained him in his service, and raised him to the highest posts. Yacoob urged his new master to undertake the conquest of Egypt, which, he said, could not offer many difficulties.

According to a judicious historian,* a circumstance, frivolous enough in itself, contributed materially to discover to Moezz the weakness of the Egyptian government, and encouraged him to meditate the conquest of that province, by diminishing in his eyes the obstacles which his ambition would have to encounter.

His mother had brought up a young female slave, whom she sent from the Magreb into Egypt to be sold. The agent employed in the transaction exposed the girl for sale in the market of Fostat, asking a thousand pieces of gold for her. One day, a female in the flower of her age examined the girl, bargained for her, and at length purchased her for six hundred pieces of gold. This female was the daughter of Ikshid Mohammed ben-Tagaj. Having heard the young slave spoken of, she wished to see her, took a liking to her, and bought her for her own service. The agent, after executing his commission, returned to the Magreb, and related to Moezz what had occurred. The khalif, summoning the sheikhs, caused the anecdote of the daughter of Ikshid and the young slave girl to be related in their presence, with all the circumstances, and then observed : " Brethren, let us hasten our march to Egypt, without apprehending any serious resistance. What can you fear from men so sunk into languor, that a female of princely lineage amongst them goes in person to buy a slave for her own use ? Such an incident denotes an utter want of spirit, and a total absence of precaution. Follow me, therefore, boldly against this effeminate people." The sheikhs exclaimed that they were all ready to execute the khalif's orders without demur ; upon which the prince exhorted them to set about preparing instantly : " For my part," added he, " I am determined, please God, to undertake this expedition."

Having assembled a considerable army for the conquest of Egypt, Moezz gave the command of it to Jauher. This general, at first, directed his march to Magreb, in order to establish on a firm basis the tranquillity which reigned in that vast country. He assembled the Arab tribes who were to accompany the expedition, and at the same time, he levied the tribute due from the Berbers, which amounted to 500,000 pieces of gold. Moezz, though it was winter, proceeded to the city of Mahadiah, took a large sum of money from the treasury of his fathers, and returned immediately to his capital. Jauher arrived in that city on the 29th Moharrem, 358 ; but, at the very moment when he was about to commence his march to Egypt, he was attacked by a disorder, so severe, that his life was despaired of. Moezz visited him frequently, and observed, " Surely, this man will not die, for he is destined to conquer Egypt." The prediction was realized ; Jauher recovered, and in obedience to his master's orders, mustered his army, consisting of more than 100,000 horse, on the plains of Rakkabah. They were abundantly supplied with arms and every kind of necessaries ; money was not spared, or rather was lavished with a

magnificence which bordered on prodigality. Moezz received that which he appropriated twenty-four millions of pieces of gold for the purpose, so that the whole sum was expended. In fact, Moezz, not content with taking to Jauher the wealth he brought away, authorized him to take from the treasuries whatever money he might need. All who were engaged in the expedition received donations, ranging from twenty to one hundred pieces of gold, which they expended in the cities of Cairowan and Sebha; where they provided themselves with what they wanted. Jauher took with him one thousand camels laden with money and arms; he had also a vast number of horses, and an immense quantity of stores and provisions. Moezz visited the camp daily, conversing privately with his general, and giving him advice as to his proceedings. On the day fixed for the march, the prince proceeded to take leave of Jauher, who, at the head of the army, standing on foot before the khalif on horseback, whispered to and then kissed his hand and the side of his horse. The khalif then commanded him to mount, and ordered his sons, even the heir presumptive to the crown, his brothers, amirs, and all the officers of the court, to dismount and walk before Jauher, in order that he might thereby bestow upon him the highest mark of honour which a subject can receive. Moezz, turning towards the sheikhs, who were to accompany the expedition, said "Though Jauher should march by himself, he would effect the conquest of Egypt; you will enter Fostat in your ordinary habits, without being called upon to fight; you will inhabit the ruined palaces of the children of Tulun; you will found a city called Kahurah (Cairo), which will subject the whole world."

The army departed from Cairowan on the 14th Rabi I., 358. The khalif had written to all the governors of cities on the route, enjoining them, when they beheld Jauher approach, to dismount, and walk before his horse. The person who commanded at Barkah, not liking to pay this mark of humility to the general, offered him fifty thousand pieces of gold if he would dispense with it; but Jauher rejected the money, and insisted upon the punctual performance of the prince's order: the officer was, therefore, constrained to submit.

Just before the army marched from Cairowan, five hundred Berber horsemen deserted the camp. Some of the principal men were sent by Jauher to induce them to return, but their solicitations were of no avail. Moezz, hearing this, exclaimed, "God is too great to call the Berbers to our aid." The khalif, at the same time, despatched vessels laden with grain and provisions to Egypt, to relieve the people who were suffering under the horrors of famine.

At the first intelligence of the preparations of Moezz and the march of Jauher, the inhabitants of Fostat, in concert with the vizir, invited Nahrir Souriani, from the city of Ashmuneyn, and entrusted him with the chief command; but when they heard that Jauher had entered Egypt, terrified at the approach of so formidable a force, they resolved, by advice of the vizir Jafar Ebn-Forat, to treat with Jauher for a capitulation, guaranteeing their property to all. They requested the sheriff Abu-Jafar Moslem Hosani to take upon him the office of negociator, to which he consented, on condition that some inhabitants of the city were joined with him. The terms required by Nahrir Souriani were,—that he should not be forced to appear before Jauher; that he should be put in possession of the city of Ashmuneyn as a fief; that he should have the government of Mecca and Medina, and that he should depart

in the city of Mecca, in the Hijaz. The vizir also placed in the hands of the negotiator, a paper containing his proposals.

The vizir set off on the 19th Rejeb, 350, for the camp of Jauher, who had pitched a town called Teajeh, near Alexandria; and the general received the vizir with much distinction. Abu-Jafar communicated to him the instructions of which he was the bearer; the negotiation was soon over; Jauher granted without discussion all the demands, and sanctioned the terms by a formal instrument, addressed to the people of Egypt, wherein, after guaranteeing their personal safety and the possession of their property, he proceeds, in a magiloquent style, to set forth the benevolent intentions of his sovereign, and to invite them to evince their obedience to him, which would be their safeguard. "In causing his victorious armies to march hither," he observes, "the prince has no other aim than to defend you, to fight for you, who are plundered by enemies. The infidel tyrannizes over you, and hopes to rule over your country, and to invade your property, as he has done in other parts of the East. My lord and master, the prince of the faithful, has anticipated this project, and has marched his warlike and victorious bands to repel this foe, and to fight for you and for all the Musulmans of the East, who groan beneath oppression, living in perpetual alarm, uttering cries of distress, and imploring succour with a loud voice. No one came to their aid but this prince, my lord and master, whom their woes have touched with compassion: sleepless and in tears he has bewailed their unhappy lot. He desires to restore security to those who are in trouble; to reanimate with joy those whom fear has depressed; to reorganize the pilgrimage where terror has caused it to fall into disuse;" and he concluded with exhorting the people of Egypt to submit. After sealing and attesting this document, he clothed the deputies with robes of honour, and dismissed them.

At this moment, confusion and perplexity reigned in the city of Fostat. The partisans of the family of Ikhsid and Kafur, as well as a part of the army, renounced the pacific intentions they had at first manifested, and were disposed to take arms in order to repel the enemy: they concealed the valuables in their houses, and prepared their tents. Jauher, apprized of these hostile demonstrations, expedited his march.

The sheriff, meanwhile, arrived at Fostat on the 7th of Shaban, with the treaty and capitulation. The vizir and the inhabitants of the city, with a part of the troops, advanced to meet the negotiator, who read to them the documents with which he was charged. He exhibited to each the answer to the demand he had written, and the promise of the military fiefs, pecuniary gratifications or employments which had been granted to him. In the letter addressed to the vizir, his title had been given him. The reading produced long and animated discussions in the assembly. Nahrir Souriani exclaimed: "The sword alone shall decide between this man and us!" An inhabitant of Bagdad, named Ebn Shabah, rose in the mosque, before Friday's prayer, and cried, "Musulmans, you have at your gates one who has sacked the city of Fez, and led captive its population." After reviewing all the ills which the people of the Magreb had experienced at the hands of Jauher, he added: "Chase hence this man of little skill, I mean the vizir Jafar; he it is who has prepared the ruin of your city and the effusion of your blood, by the mere fact of the negociation which he has set on foot with the stranger, the *kayd* Jauher." This speech produced a lively impression upon the multitude, who declared for the renunciation of the amnesty which had been demanded.

The sheriff and his companions, on this rupture of the treaty and explosion

of warlike designs on the part of the population of Fostat, forbore to communicate the news to Jauher, lest he might arrest them; and hastened their departure. But scarcely had they commenced their journey, when Jauher, learning what had happened, sent after them, and on their being brought before him, said: "I hear that your fellow-citizens have broken the treaty and recalled their proposals; return me the writing you received from me." The negociators, in a suppliant and flattering tone, said: "In these circumstances, God will not fail to protect you and give you the victory." Jauher said to the Cadi: "What think you of the man who, wishing to pass through Fostat to fight the infidels and perform the pilgrimage, is refused a passage? Has he a right to force it with arms?" The Cadi replying in the affirmative, the general required it to be certified under his signature.

Meanwhile, the sheriff and his companions returned to the city, but they could agree on nothing. Those who were for war chose Nahsir Souriani as their general, and prepared for an obstinate resistance. They proceeded to the isle of Raudah, and thence to Jizeh bank, carefully securing the bridges which led to Fostat. Jauher, on the other hand, arrived under the walls of Jizeh, and gave battle to his enemies on the 11th Shaban. The result was merely the capture of some men and horses. The two parties remained some time in sight of each other, and had several actions, with various success. Jauher, resolving to decamp, advanced towards Moniet-assayadin, and took possession of the ford of Moniet-shalkan, where he was joined by a corps of Egyptian troops, who brought him some boats. As the enemy, posted on the opposite bank, prepared to dispute the passage of the river, Jauher, addressing one of his generals, named Jafar ben-Fallah, said: "It was for a day like this, that the Caliph Moezz reserved you; go, then, exhibit your courage and your devotion." Jafar, throwing off his outer habits, jumped into a boat, whilst his troops forded the river by his side. The Egyptians, on the other bank, sustained the attack with resolution, and neither party would give way. At length, after an obstinate and a sanguinary contest, the partisans of Ikhsid were completely defeated, and most of them were left on the field of battle. Those who escaped the carnage saved themselves by flight, and sought an asylum within the walls of Fostat. But, not thinking themselves safe even there, they took all the property they could remove from their dwellings, and abandoned the city. Their wives found out the sheriff Abu-Jafar, and conjured him to intercede with Jauher, and induce him to ratify the first capitulation without alteration. The sheriff wrote to the general, congratulating him on his victory, and claiming the maintenance of the capitulation. The inhabitants, anxious for their fate, thronged about the sheriff, impatiently waiting for a reply. It came at last, and was as favourable as could be expected. The sheriff read it publicly; it was to this effect: it acceded to the proposal of renewing the amnesty already signed, and authorized the sheriff, in the name of the Caliph, to extend its provisions to whom he pleased, and in what manner he pleased; it declared that the general had directed the vizir to sequester the property of the fugitives until they should submit; and it required that the sheriff should proceed to meet him on the 14th of Shaban, accompanied by the sheriffs, learned men, persons of rank, and people of the adjacent towns. Upon this, Nahrir, Mahsar, Belal, and Yemen Tawil were massacred, and their heads presented to Jauher.

The courier, who bore the capitulation, entered Fostat with a white flag in his hand, and went through the streets, proclaiming a complete amnesty, and an express prohibition of pillage. This moderation calmed mens' apprehen-

sions, and the shops were open as usual. At the close of the day, Abu-Jafar received a letter from Jauher, requiring him to come out to meet the Egyptian army on Tuesday, the 17th Ramadan, accompanied by a number of sheriffs, learned men, and principal inhabitants. All prepared to execute these orders. On the day appointed, they proceeded, with the sheriff at their head, to Jizeh, where they were received by Jauher, who caused it to be proclaimed by a crier that the deputies, except the sheriff and the vizir, should immediately dismount from their horses. They advanced on foot, one after the other, to salute Jauher, who had the sheriff on his right hand and the vizir on his left. When this ceremony was over, they continued their march, and entered Fostat with arms and baggage.

In the afternoon of the next day, Jauher made his entry, preceded by drums and standards. He was clothed in a silk robe embroidered with gold, and was mounted on a yellow horse, covered with housings of Egyptian cloth. He fixed his camp on the spot where the city of Cairo now stands, and lost no time in tracing the walls of this capital, and that very night laid the foundation of the palace. The inhabitants of Fostat, after a tranquil night's rest, proceeding at break of day to offer their congratulations to Jauher, beheld with astonishment the labours executed in so short a space of time. As the plan of the walls presented serious defects and irregularities, the general appeared dissatisfied with it; but reflecting that the undertaking had been conceived and commanded at the most favourable moment it was possible to choose, he determined to adopt it. The entry of the African troops into Fostat lasted seven whole days.

[*To be continued.*]

THE INDIAN NAVY.

A CORRESPONDENT (an officer in the Indian Navy) calls our attention to the fact, that the armed steamer, recently built at Calcutta, for the suppression of piracy in the Eastern Straits, has been placed under the command of a civilian. He observes, that when the Bombay Marine was subjected to martial law, and its designation was changed to that of "the Indian Navy," its services were extended to all the presidencies, and the suppression of piracy was one of its original objects; and that, by transferring the command of one of its vessels to a civil officer, who cannot maintain naval discipline so effectually as a marine officer, the public interests are prejudiced, as well as the rights of the service.

ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF BÁMIÁN.

BY C. MASSON.

Bámián is situated in one of the Paropámisian valleys, distant about eighty or eighty-five miles from Cabúl, bearing N. 75 W. The valley is deep, the enclosing hills on either side exhibiting, to a greater or less extent, perpendicular walls of rock, whence their convenience and adaptation for the construction of caves. The rock is called *Mung*, being a conglomerate of small pebbles, sand, and divers-coloured earth, remarkably compact and hard. The length of the valley is about nine or ten miles, in direction from east to west. Its breadth is inconsiderable, but greatest at the particular spot in it, pre-eminently called Bámián, and where the statues and principal caves are found. At this point also the streams of Súrkh Dur, and Júi Foládí, by their junction, form what is called the river of Bámián, which, flowing eastward down the valley, receives at Zohák the waters of Kálú, after which winding to the westward of Irak, Bábúlák, Shibr, Bitchílák, &c., and augmented by their rivulets, eventually escapes from the hills, and passing Ghorí, falls into the river of Kundúz.

The appellation *Bámián* may perhaps be equivalent to 'high region,' in contradistinction to *Damián* or *Damán*, the 'low region,' or that at the skirts of the hills—'Bám' signifies 'roof;' and when it is remembered that Asiatic roofs are flat, as are in general the summits of the mountains in this part of the country, we are at no loss to account for the name, once probably universally applied to it, though now retained by a particular locality; and when we further consider its elevation above the surrounding regions, we may admit the figurative and emphatic interpretation of *Bámián*, as afforded by some of the inhabitants, who render it the 'roof of the universe.'

The mountains, among which Bámián is situate, are no doubt those designated by the Greek historians and geographers Paropámisus, as opposed to the true Indian Caucasus, or Hindu Kosh, from which they are distinct. The term has been cavilled at, but without justice. It was no creation of the Greeks, but the native name for the hills; nor need we doubt this, when we find it made up of *par* and *pám*, signifying 'hill' and 'flat.' *Paropámisus* may therefore be translated 'the region of flat summited hills,' and is a term peculiarly appropriate to the countries on which it was conferred. Knowing the etymology of Paropámisus, we learn that of *Pamir*, the 'lord of hills.'

The principal antiquities of Bámián are its idols and caves, which have manifestly a connexion with each other—the castle of Zohák, so called—and the remains of the city and citadel of Ghúlghúleh.

The evidences of Ghúlghúleh are numerous and extensive, proving that it must have been an important city. Refraining from speculations as to its origin, we know from authentic history that it was destroyed by Genghiz Khán in 1220, A.D. The natives of Bámián have a tradition, that it was re-edified, and again fell into decay, which is probable, there being many Mohamedan tombs referring to it, which have a less antiquity than six centuries, if painted glazed tiles to be seen in them were confined to China until the era of Genghiz Khán, as supposed by some authors. The most striking of the remains of Ghúlghúleh is the citadel or place, the walls of which encompass an isolated eminence.

The fortress of Zohák, so called by the natives and by Abul Fazil, occurs at the eastern extremity of the valley, where the rivulet of Kalú falls into the

river of Bámián. We have not inspected it with sufficient attention to decide upon its character, or to venture to advance an opinion on it, which future research may controvert; we therefore merely observe that, agreeing with Abul Fazil as to its antiquity, we differ both from his notion and that sanctioned by tradition, that it was a place of defence.

The caves of Bámián are found in the cliffs or perpendicular fronts of the hills on either side of the valley, and on the northern side they uninterruptedly occur for a distance of six or seven miles. At the spot called Bámián, the elevation of the cliffs being most considerable, there are found the greater number of caves, or *samuches*, as called in these countries, congregated as in a focus. Among these caves stand in niches the two large idols long known in Europe, and between them are two other niches, in one of which are the fragments of a former idol, and the other as certainly once contained one. Opposite to these, diverging to the south-west, is the valley through which flows the rivulet of Júi Fóládi, and eastward of the citadel of Ghúlghúleh is a valley stretching to the south; the hills to the north and east of both these valleys are also perforated with caves, and among those of the latter is a large idol, inferior only in size to the two superior ones at Bámián.

The idols are cut or hewn in the rock, and have been covered with a surface of cement. They are erect figures, with their hands extended, and supporting the folds of drapery with which they have been clothed. Their features have been destroyed, by removing one-half of their heads, or as far as their lips, leaving the hinder halves with the ears, enormously large, appended.*

The work of mutilation was one of some labour, and having been executed with precision, will have been directed by authority, possibly by that of the Arabian conquerors. A subsequent and less systematic mutilation has been practised on the idols, by breaking off their hands and fracturing their legs, for the merits of which Jenghiz, Timúr, Aurangzéb, and even Timúr Sháh Dúrání, who are all accused, may dispute.

The idols stand in vast niches formed in the rock, whose sides, on a level with the necks of them, have been embellished with paintings. These consist of busts and seated figures, both male and female. The niche of the superior idol has on each side a line of twelve female figures, and, what is of great importance, at its summit, over the idol's head, is an inscription, obviously intended to unravel the mystery. The niche in which stands the second idol in importance has no inscription, but on either side has lines of twelve male and female busts, among which is one so valuable, that we need not regret the absence of a literal testimony; over the head of this idol is a painted full length female figure. The niches of the other idols are also embellished with paintings.

On either side of the niches are series of stairs, cut in the rock, which conduct to their summits, or to the heads of the idols; each series of steps leads to a small square apartment, and these several apartments have been superbly decorated with gilding and lapis lazuli. To illumine these passages, apertures have been cut through the rock towards the idols. We ascended to the summit of the second idol by the passage on the one side, and walking round the hinder part of its head, descended by the steps on the other side. Near the summit, or above the lines of paintings, the niches have been widened; and on either side has been formed a *takht*, or 'sofa,' obviously for the convenience of sitting upon. The superior idol has or had the same facilities of

* See a Sketch of them published with Lieut. Burnes' Description, J. A. S., vol. ii. 561.

ascent to the summit, but at the time of our visit the lower caves near it were occupied by an unaccommodating Tajik, who had stowed in the passage his stock of provender. We could not prevail upon him, by menace or entreaty, to open the path; and he evasively affirmed that he had never heard of one. We did not insist with him, relying upon making a further visit, which until now has not happened. It is a great point to gain these upper stations, as from them may be profitably inspected the paintings.

Between the legs of the superior idol are entrances conducting into spacious apartments surmounted with domes—and there are many other caves at Bâmiân which display the dome or cupola:—these we imagine to have been particularly temples. They, in common with all other caves, were covered with cement, in which the lines of moulding surrounding their circumferences, with the ornaments at the summits of the domes, have been formed. The interiors of all of them are of a glossy black colour, from the smoke of fires which were or have been kept up in them. Many of the caves at Bâmiân are remarkable for their dimensions, and have other peculiarities in their form and embellishments. The most curious are found above the superior idol, but in another cliff rising backward; so that in walking from them to the front or south, we reach the edge of the perpendicular wall of rock in which that sculpture is carved. In these caves we saw the names written with charcoal of W. Moorcroft, W. Trebeck, and G. Guthrie! They are gained by an ascent a little to the left or west of the idol.

There can be little doubt, but that of the vast number of caves which do not terminate in cupolas, many were the residences of the priests connected with temples; others may have been the abodes of ascetics or monastic classes; and as we find in Afghanistan that the cave is invariably the companion of the sepulchral tumulus, without reference to its nature, or whether it be a tomb or cenotaph, we may suppose the majority of the excavations at Bâmiân to be of the same character. When circumstances permitted the erection of a tumulus, it became necessary to excavate a cave; and we need not be surprised at the vast number of caves at Bâmiân, when we have under our eyes the ruins of a large and once flourishing city, or when we consider the spot was a sacred one, possibly the most sacred, of the professors of the then existing religion, and whither the dead of the surrounding regions might, from pious motives, be carried for deposit.

The inhabitants, in speaking of the three superior idols, call them the father, mother, and son,—presuming the second in consequence to be a female; but there is no distinction in the figure to warrant the supposition that its sex varies from the others. Of whatever sex the whole may be, there is little reason to doubt but they are of one and the same.

We visited Bâmiân under the idea of meeting with Buddhist antiquities, but it became evident that they were of another character. The inscription was in characters unknown to us, and continued so until we were favoured by the alphabets of the Pehlevi and Zend from Mr. Prinsep, when we ascertained it to be a form of Pehlevi. The bust of the king, among the paintings in the niche of the second idol, we had found to bear an exact resemblance to the busts on a series of coins constantly and numerous found at Beghrâm, and which we called Parthian provisionally; but the characters of the legends on these coins were very different from those of the Bâmiân inscription. At length, however, a coin was found of the same class, with the characters plainly similar; in fact, comprising three of those forming the inscription. We now began to suspect we had sufficient evidence to assign the idols of Bâmiân.

ber or November last, did not affect the public income of 1840. The revenue of that year was indeed the largest ever collected in the colony, the gross receipts of the year having exceeded the gross expenditure by £120,000, notwithstanding that, in the expenditure, was included very nearly £150,000 for immigration. The ordinary revenue of the Port Phillip district was more than double that of the preceding year, having increased from, £14,008, in 1839, to £29,799, in 1840, whilst the sale of Crown lands in that district brought to the general land fund the large amount of £217,127. The district of Port Phillip has risen rapidly to a state of wealth and importance.

"The pecuniary difficulties under which many interests in the colony are still suffering may safely, I believe, be said to have arisen from excessive speculation and an undue extension of credit. They seem to be of the nature of those which frequently and almost periodically occur in most places where commercial adventure is eager; and a remedy for them is, I think, to be looked for in the natural course of events, rather than to be sought in any legislative enactments. The scarcity of 1838 and 1839 caused a great drain from the colony for the first necessary of life, and produced excessive fluctuations in the price of every description of grain. The decline in price of our chief staple commodity, wool, lessened the price of our exports in the home market. The excessive consignment of goods in the colony, mostly on speculation, by mercantile houses in England, produced a depreciation in the value of nearly every species of merchandize, calculated to affect, more or less, the transactions of the whole commercial body. The necessity of disposing of these goods contributed to the undue extension of credit; whilst the rapid influx of capital into the colony may have had a tendency to encourage hazardous speculations, and the employment of money in investments not yielding any immediate return. A more abundant supply of labour is undoubtedly the one great thing wanted in the colony, for without labour no wealth can be produced, no capital can be profitably employed.

"In a country where labour is so much in demand, it must appear strange to all who have their eyes directed on us, that we should neglect the nearest source from which it is to be obtained—I mean the real children of the soil, the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. Though by nature wild, and with difficulty induced to submit to the restraints which are imposed on ordinary labourers, abundant proof exists that they may be made to do so. I have seen some establishments myself, and am informed of others, in which they have been, and still are, profitably employed. The colonists still are individually no less than collectively concerned in this important matter; and in addition to the considerations of religion, humanity, and justice, which press so heavily upon us, we have now a further reason for turning our attention to it, as I have received instructions from her Majesty's Government to apply to the civilization and improvement of the aborigines fifteen per cent. of the revenue derived from the sale of the unimproved lands of the Crown."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. Threlkeld, who has been labouring amongst the aborigines for sixteen years, and has taken up his residence at Ebenezer Lake, Macquarie Inlet, with the design (hitherto without effect) of congregating them there, and civilizing them, in his last annual report, states some melancholy facts. He begins by observing, as an index of the spirit of some of the settlers, that, "Early in 1840, a person publicly boasted, 'that prussic acid had been administered to the aborigines, at a station up the country, where they died about the place like rats;' and although, upon investigation, it was not substantiated, yet the vaunt of that individual, who boasted of its occurrence as a capital way of getting rid of the blacks without troubling the Government, shewed sufficiently what manner of spirit he was of." He then mentions a variety of communications made to him by the aborigines, with whose language he is quite familiar, respecting numerous murders of blacks by white people. "In March last," he says, "a black from the interior was committed, charged with murder; and whilst detained in Newcastle gaol, I visited him, accompanied by an aborigine who

speaks his dialect; but, owing to the imperfect knowledge he had of our language, we could only elicit that many blacks had been shot by the white people, amongst whom were shot the brothers of the prisoner; and that other blacks had killed the European for the murder of whom he was charged." The aborigines being held incompetent to give evidence in a court of law, no white man can be convicted of the murder of a black, unless the deed was done in the presence of a white, who will give evidence. He observes: "The royal disallowance of the Act to allow the aborigines of New South Wales to be received as competent witnesses in criminal cases leaves them without any hope of redress, exposed to the violence of any one, excepting proof can be obtained from white witnesses, which is most easily avoided in this colony. I had apprized them of the expected piece of justice to the aborigines; I am now perfectly at a loss to describe to them their position. Christian laws will hang the aborigines for violence done to Christians, but Christian laws will not protect them from the aggressions of nominal Christians, because aborigines must give evidence only upon oath." As a proof of the dispositions and capabilities of the aborigines, when employed in such occupations as suit their wishes, he states that Mr. Imlay, at Twofold Bay, has two whale-boats, manned entirely by aborigines: one of the boats got five whales this season; the other, three. The men live in huts with their families, and cook their own provisions the same as white people. They keep watch at night. Some of their women are good washewomen, and two or three have made gowns for themselves. Mr. Threlkeld shews that the British Government have neglected these poor creatures, who, though a grant of ten thousand acres of land was reserved for them, at Newcastle (which lays waste, or is occupied gratuitously), are forced to "lie about the ways and streets, or on the sea-beach, at all hours, in a state of intoxication and wretchedness, a disgrace to a Christian land. Several of the younger branches might most usefully be employed as auxiliaries to the police, some having proved themselves very serviceable in tracking out bushrangers, if suitable encouragement be held out to them for such services, which are always engaged in at the peril of their lives."

On the 14th May, two aboriginal natives, named Merridio and Nengavil, were indicted for the murder of an European named Tuck, at Mount Lindsay, 31st May, 1840. On behalf of the prisoners, a demand was made for a jury *de medietate lingue*, which was refused by Mr. Justice Burton, on the ground that the prisoners were not aliens, having been naturalized by Act of Parliament. They were convicted, and on sentence of death being passed upon them, which was communicated to them by an interpreter, they exclaimed, "What of that? Let them hang us!"

The late returns of the population for the town and district of Sydney give the following results:—The total number of persons within the boundary of Sydney is 20,973, of whom 17,332 arrived free, and 7,000 were born in the colony; 3,356 have served sentences of transportation, 207 hold tickets-of-leave, 1,018 are convicts in Government employ. and 1,060 (537 males, and 523 females) are convicts in private assignment. The district of Sydney, outside the boundary, including New Town, Botany Bay, &c., contains about 4,500; making the total number of persons in the town and district of Sydney, 35,507, of whom 20,733 are males, and 14,774 females. The religious denominations are thus divided: Church of England, 19,903; Presbyterians, 3,565; Wesleyans, 937; other Protestant dissenters, 973; total Protestants, 24,978; Roman Catholics, 9,552; Jews, 476; Mahometans and Pagans, 101. There are 5,392 houses, of which 3,714 are stone or brick, and 1,678 wooden; 125 (this includes places of worship, Government buildings, &c.) are uninhabited. The occupations are as follows: landed proprietors, merchants, bankers, and professional men, 707; shopkeepers and retail dealers, 798; mechanics and artificers, 4,178; gardeners, stockmen, and agriculturalists, 1,206; domestic servants, 3,135; other persons, not included in the above, 23,463.

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

A great sensation has been produced amongst the settlers by the announcement that a large quantity of flour, amounting to three hundred tons, had been ordered by the commissariat from England, and that it was shortly expected to arrive in the colony. Public indignation has in consequence been divided between the chief of the commissariat department and the local government, both being pretty freely censured for having lent themselves to what is termed an act of gross injustice towards the colonists, who are largely taxed for the maintenance of a convict police and constabulary, and in return receive nothing except the unenviable distinction of being called and treated as a penal colony, without possessing the remotest interest in the labour of the prisoner, the deprivation of which, in the absence of any proper substitute in emigration, is surely discouragement enough to agriculture without the additional indignity of closing the market against colonial grain. It is, in fact, tantamount to saying, "You shall no longer have the labour of prisoners allowed you as before, we shall employ them for our purposes as it may best suit us, so that their labour may the better repay us in the sale of the land they clear and cultivate; and because, now we have taken that labour away from you, you cannot afford to grow wheat as cheap as formerly, we shall not buy a bushel from you, but shall send home for it, and get the drawback upon foreign flour."—*H. T. Cour.*, May 14.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Since the arrival of Governor Grey, no changes have been made, for the present, either in the Members of Council or in the official administration of the Government—it being understood that the contemplated arrangements will be dependent on Parliamentary proceedings. In the mean time, it is the determination of the Colonization Commissioners (assisted, of course, by her Majesty's Government) to redeem all the obligations officially incurred by their late representative in the colony. The Commissioners' order, promulgated by Col. Gawler, in reference to special surveys, is not to be insisted upon. The surveys, therefore, which were taken in terms of the published regulations, will be surveyed, and delivered over to the purchasers, according to the usual form. It is earnestly to be hoped, that the 500-acre-getting system, attempted by Col. Gawler in two late surveys—being not merely totally unauthorized and in flagrant violation of these regulations, but ruinous to the prosperity of the colony and the interests of the colonists—will not be sanctioned, at least, that a monopoly of the right to choose blocks of 500 acres of the best land in the province will not be granted to the special survey speculator, and denied to the less wealthy colonist on the spot, who is surely the party most likely to make his location immediately productive and available.—*S.A. Reg.*, May 26.

A strong body of mounted police and colonists, under Major O'Halloran, had been despatched to the Murray, to secure the overland communication with New South Wales. His Exc., in reply to an application of the colonists for a large force to be sent against the blacks on the Murray, and tendering the co-operation of a number of gentlemen, observes: "As it is possible that these gentlemen have volunteered their services under the idea that a military expedition against the natives would take place, his Exc. thinks it proper to state, that positive instructions have on several occasions been given by H.M.'s Government to treat the aborigines of all parts of this continent as subjects of the Queen, within her Majesty's allegiance, and that to regard them as aliens with whom a war can exist, and against whom H.M.'s troops may exercise belligerent rights, is to deny that protection to which they derive the highest possible claim from the sovereignty which has been assumed over the whole of their ancient possessions. To these instructions it is the intention of his Exc. rigidly to adhere; and at the same time that he will endeavour to the utmost of his power to protect the lives and properties of settlers, he will not authorize the levying of war or the exercise of belligerent rights against the aborigines of Australia."

Mr. Pullen, the marine surveyor, has established the practicability of the entrance of the Murray, as a navigable passage for vessels of a certain draught of water, in

moderate weather. It would be difficult to overrate the colonial importance of a direct sea-communication, with the extensive and fertile tracts watered by Lakes Alexandrina and Albert, and the Murray, for about two hundred miles of its course. The establishment of the fact will at once direct the attention of the colonists to these splendid districts, and render hundreds of thousands of acres of rich agricultural land, which at one time were considered almost shut out from communication with the capital, of almost as easy access to market as the located districts beyond the Barossa and Mount Lofty ranges.

From private information, upon which we can rely, we learn a most disastrous account of this colony, or at all events of its capital, Adelaide. Our informant went thither with a small consignment of flour, potatoes, and fruit, with the intention of acquiring, by personal observation, such a knowledge of the colony, as might be available to further trading, or even settling. Money is scarce, water is scarce, and bad to boot; wages are scarce; while fleas, bugs, hot winds, dust, and heat, are exceedingly abundant; in short, there is no semblance of what every Englishman so lovingly admires—comfort—to be found in the place. In truth, we think the Company have overdone this work, somewhat after the manner of the Swan River affair, and we are assured that multitudes of deluded emigrants are anxious to flock hither or to Sydney. The gentleman to whom we are indebted for our information told us, that he had six several offers of services by mechanics, who would agree to work out their passage-money to this colony, at the rate of 5s. or 6s. per diem; for, although wages are nominally higher at Adelaide, there is this little difficulty, they are rarely paid in cash, if paid at all, while provisions of every kind are exorbitantly dear. Of water scarcely a cup of clear fluid is to be had, and what is brought to Adelaide is taken from some stagnant pools in which the natives bathe themselves, and is sold at 3s. the cask.—*Hobart Town, Cour., May 14.*

The expedition to the Murray, for the purpose of recovering from the natives the sheep taken by them from the party of Messrs. Field and Luman, returned, unsuccessful in that respect, but providentially fortunate in rescuing from imminent peril Mr. C. Langhorne and the remnant of his party, who had escaped the attack of the natives of the Rufus, in which four individuals belonging to it were murdered, and two severely wounded. The report of Major O'Halloran states that when the detachment of police and volunteers (in all sixty-eight men) reached the spot where the sheep were taken, the interpreters went to the hostile tribe with a message, that if the sheep were restored the tribe should not be molested. One of the hostile blacks, a large and powerful man, who had been wounded by a gun-shot, returned with the interpreters. He stated that the sheep were very numerous, only one having been killed by a man who would be given up; that they were yet some miles to the north, and that we must make another half-day's march before we could get to the spot where the sheep were folded, under charge of an overland party, who had arrived a few days before, with three drays and a large herd of cattle. In the morning, therefore, they started, and after marching eight miles (240 from Adelaide), suddenly fell in with Mr. Langhorne's overland party, who had been attacked by the tribe the party were amongst but two days before, having had four men killed and two wounded, out of sixteen individuals, twenty head of cattle dispersed, others having been killed, and nearly all their property and supplies taken from them. They were in the most wretched and deplorable state imaginable, and appeared as men would do who were unexpectedly reprieved from apparently certain death. All had given themselves up for lost, and expected to be murdered that very night. Next day (the blacks who had come to the party, probably as spies, having sneaked off) Major O'Halloran, leaving his camp fortified with a strong foot party under command of Capt. Fergusson, with the remainder of the detachment scoured the country around four miles in all directions, with the hope of making prisoners and recovering some of the sheep, but returned unsuccessful in both objects. "We

found," he says, "that the whole of the sheep had long before been slaughtered, as we saw their carcasses and bones thrown about in vast heaps in various places where the blacks had formed large encampments, and had folded the sheep; and though we saw and chased thirteen natives (the only number seen on our side of the river, though numerous enough on the other), they were ever too close to the water's edge to admit of our securing them, for they took to the river when driven through the high reeds on its banks, and which rose above our heads when on horse-back; and thus, from the want of boats, escaped us, though only a few yards distant. They might all with certainty have been shot; but when they found we would not fire, the villains laughed at and mocked us, roaring out 'Plenty sheepy,' 'plenty *jumbuck*' (another name of theirs for sheep), and one of them repeated the word '*cornu*' several times, who was instantly recognized as the black that had been with us for several days, and who volunteered to act as interpreter and negotiate between us and this brutal tribe. This fellow had explained to us that '*cornu*' meant 'white chalk,' and not 'a chief,' as we imagined. Considering myself now fully justified in rendering Mr. Langhorne all the assistance in my power, and hoping yet to make some prisoners, I left our fortified camp again, leaving the entire foot party under command of Mr. Inman, and with the mounted detachment got to Langhorne's Ferry, on the Rufus, where his party were attacked, and there found the body of one of his murdered men lying along the bank, guarded by a faithful bull-dog, that had been speared in two places by the blacks, for he had fiercely attacked them. The noble animal, on seeing us, set up a piteous and heart-rending howl, swam across to the opposite side, and has not since been seen. Martin's body was covered with wounds, his head and face frightfully battered with waddies, and his entrails and thigh bones taken out. Part of a dray, flour in heaps, broken muskets, and other articles, lay strewn around, as also many waddies and jagged and pointed spears, with blood, flesh, and hair upon them; also several dead calves. The sight was altogether horrifying; but as the day was far spent, and it would require considerable time to cross a party with horses over the Rufus, I retired for the night to a flat five miles distant, where there was good feed for our horses, and early the next morning was again at Langhorne's Ferry. A grave was then dug for the remains of poor Martin, and I had the melancholy satisfaction of giving him Christian burial, and reading the funeral service over the corpse, a large fire being afterwards lit over the grave to prevent the blacks from recognizing it. These wretches had taken his body out of the water to extract the thigh bones, but what they have done with the other three we could not discover, though the river was traced to Lake Victoria (into which it now empties itself, though in the summer into the Murray), with the hope of recovering the relics of the murdered men."

New Zealand.

H.M.'s ship *Favourite*, with Lady Franklin on board, arrived at Port Nicholson on the 3rd March, after a beautiful passage from Hobart Town of ten days. Her arrival had created quite a sensation. Several congratulatory addresses were presented to her ladyship, who expressed the utmost gratification with her visit, and after a week's stay, started to Akaroa and other places on the coast.

We have seen a gentleman who came to Sydney by the *Lapwing*, on whose information we can rely, who states that the town of Wellington is progressing slowly—he estimates the value of houses and stock in the township at £120,000. He states that Mr. Dudley Sinclair, son of Sir George Sinclair, has disposed of the greatest part of his property at Wellington, having received for two allotments, for which he paid £200, nearly £2,500 from a gentleman connected with a Sydney house. We hear that the land for miles round the town is of a most inferior description, and that it would take £80 to clear a single acre, so densely timbered is the greater portion of this country. Where the land is cultivated, it yields most abundantly; a cabbage was

brought into the market of Wellington, which, when cut, measured more than eleven feet in circumference, and weighed 18 lbs. The following are the market prices :— First flour, £36 per ton ; potatoes, £6 to £7 ; Mauritius sugar, £2. 10s. per cwt. ; tea, per chest, £8 to £12 ; butter, 3s. to 3s. 6d. ; milch cows, £25 to £30 ; brood mares, £50 to £90 ; working bullocks, £50 to £60 per pair ; sheep, £2 to £3.—*Sydney Gaz.*

By the *Nimrod*, which left the Bay of Islands on the 22nd July, intelligence from New Zealand had been received at Sydney. The most sanguine opinions are expressed, both as to the present and permanent prosperity of that colony. The commercial operations, and the progress of the various settlements at and in the vicinity of Auckland, are spoken of in flattering terms. The funds for building and endowing a metropolitan church at Auckland had been raised, a school and a bonded warehouse had been erected ; a hospital was in contemplation, and measures were being taken for the formation of a joint stock bank, on sound principles. There existed, however, a scarcity of labourers, and these were earning from seven to ten shillings per day, and mechanics from twelve to fifteen shillings.

China.

We have no later intelligence from China than that of last month, but complete files of Canton papers supply some further details of past transactions.

These papers contain some particulars, from eye-witnesses, of incidents in the actions of May.

During the storming of the forts, Capt. Ommancy, 2nd Madras N.C., and Lieut. K. K. Stewart Mackenzie, H.M.'s 90th regt., being good runners, served on Gen. Gough's staff (none of whom were mounted) as aides-de-camp, and their powers were severely taxed during one of the hottest days of the season. Lieut. M. served as a volunteer with the Royal Irish at the storming of the entrenched camp ; and at one time was just receiving orders from the general, to be conveyed to another part of the field, when a sergeant of the 26th came up ; and Gen. Gough, observing that Lieut. Mackenzie had had running enough, despatched the sergeant with the orders ; that sergeant has never been heard of since, and must have been cut off.

After the armistice, in the afternoon of the 30th, several thousand villagers collected on the broken ground and in the paddy fields, about two miles to the northward of the British quarters. Detachments from the 26th, 40th, marines, and 37th Madras N.I. marched down in four columns, to disperse them. This service was speedily performed ; but soon the floodgates of heaven were opened, and water descended in sheets ; detachments from the 26th and 37th having been sent on in advance, while the remainder of the force had been ordered back, after the dispersion of the villagers, and were on the route to their different quarters in the forts taken on the 25th, the general and staff, consisting of about twenty officers, remained unprotected about a mile in the rear of the advance. Meanwhile, the troops engaged got wet, and their muskets were rendered useless ; the commanding officers, consequently, returned, and the Chinese, observing the British troops had ceased firing, faced about, and began to close round and hem them in, attacking with spears, &c. ; the rear man of the 26th was speared, and immediately he fell, the Chinese threw themselves upon, and hacked him to pieces with their swords ; but his body and his arms and accoutrements were all recovered. The Chinese fought hand to hand, and Major Pratt had the sleeve of his coat torn by a thrust of a tri-forked spear. These two detachments had to face about several times, to beat the Chinese off ; and when they joined the staff—which had taken such shelter from the pouring cataracts of rain as a thin-branched tree afforded, and might have been easily cut off by the Chinese—Gen. Gough distinguished the native officers of the 37th in the most courteous style, taking their hands, and thanking them for their steady behaviour. It was soon, however, discovered that, by some unaccountable misunderstanding, a company of the 37th had been left behind ; the marines, with percus-

sion-locks to their muskets, were forthwith ordered to their rescue. They met the company—of about fifty men—retreating in square, keeping the Chinese at bay; immediately the balls of the marines were heard and felt, the Chinese dispersed; one of the 37th had been speared and killed, and his body, arms and accoutrements could not be recovered; and when the Sipahi fell, a Chinese seized his loaded musket, deliberately aimed, fired at, and wounded Mr. Berkeley, in command of the company. The return to quarters was through the same floods of rain which had swollen every rill to a torrent, through which the troops waded waist-high in water.

The following is stated to be the cause of the wound of Capt. Hall, commanding the *Nemesis*, in the action with the Chinese junks and fire-rafts. A rocket had been fired, and yet it hung fast in the tube. Capt. Hall, knowing that not a moment was to be lost, with instant quickness and the coolest daring, thrust his hand up the tube, while the rocket was sending out its fire downward, and pushed the rocket out: nothing but this daring deed could have prevented its explosion on board, and killing all around it.

The report of the Imperial Commissioners, Yih-shan, Lung-wang, and Yang-fang, on the attack of Canton (dated 30th May), describes the measures they had adopted for the defence of the city and the difficulty of securing it, as it is overlooked and commanded by heights, and the maritime access being easy. They state that they prepared rafts to burn our ships; but before they could act, the "rebels" commenced battle, having secretly taken soundings of the river. The Chinese troops, however, beat them back, till, on the 25th May, the whole of the barbarian vessels attacked the city. Aided by traitorous natives, the English steam-vessels proceeded up to Ne-ching, opening their fire, whilst the traitorous natives, disguised as sailors, entered the Chinese fire-ships, and jumping into the water, penetrated by land to the rear of the Chinese army. Thus assaulted on each side, Ne-ching could not be defended. The report then represents the sufferings of the population of Canton. "The people," they say, "are easily swayed in their opinions; they do not think the provincial city is an important territory, and that the whole province depends upon it; and vile wretches avail themselves of the opportunity, and rise in crowds." Nevertheless, when the barbarians advanced against the city from the north, by the way of Ne-ching, the Chinese opened a fire upon them from the walls, and killed "more than ten," and more than one hundred traitorous natives; upon which the barbarians retreated, and the Chinese army retired within the city. On the 27th, the inhabitants confusedly presented petitions, beseeching that the city and their lives might be preserved, and the soldiers stationed at the angle of a parapet reported that the barbarians seemed to wish to parley. The Commissioners say they thereupon ordered Colonel Heuen Chuy-shing "to ascend the walls and look about him." He perceived that there were several "barbarian eyes," who "pointed with their heads to heaven and earth, but the Colonel could not make out what they had to say." Interpreters were called for; according to whose statement, the barbarians "wanted to explain their grievances;" whereupon "General Twan-Yung-fuh exclaimed, 'How can you suppose that a generalissimo of the celestial empire can grant you an interview? he has only received orders, and has come here with the sole intention of fighting you, and knows of nothing else.' The said barbarian eye immediately doffed his cap, dismissed his retinue of officers, threw down his arms on the ground, and made his obeisance towards the city." General Twan subsequently made inquiries into the grievances, and the barbarian eye said that "the English could not barter their goods; that there existed no intercourse or facilities for trade; that they had lost their capital, and had debts owing to them unpaid. Since the cannonade was opened on both sides of the new city, they had not been able to communicate what they had to say; and therefore he had come hither to request the generalissimo to beseech the great emperor to shew favour in paying the debts, and graciously permit the (English) trade; they would then immediately retreat outside the Bogue, restore the forts, and

* Two women's bangles were thrown down from the walls to the English officers; one was lost in the grass, and recovered only after a long search.

not dare to create disturbance." Accordingly, the Commissioners maturely weighed these matters, and found that, the fortifications of the Bogue being lost, there existed no protection for those who are within or those without. "The best, therefore, that could be done, was to agree to this proposal, to preserve the city from danger, and give new life to the fainting inhabitants. We calculate the whole annual sum arising from the taxes and duties of Canton province to be no less than 3,000,000 of taels. If only the business of the barbarians was cleanly settled, the people might in a few years afterwards recover their accustomed spirit; but if we waited for any length of time, unexpected troubles might perhaps arise, which would involve us not only in heavy expenses but also in dilemmas. When once the barbarian vessels have gone out and the traitorous natives been dispersed, we could all along from the city to the Bogue increase the number of fortifications at every important point, and cast and plant additional guns; at the mouth block up the entrances with stones: thus we should be able to prevent the enemy and maintain ourselves effectually, and cramp their efforts. Should they again dare to act outrageously, we would immediately stop their trade, and manage them well."

The *Canton Press*, August 21, publishes the following speculations upon the settlement of the pending dispute, which, as the opinion of a person with local opportunities of becoming well-informed, perhaps, merit attention:—

"The English have to enforce demands which include and make necessary a change of system which is the very basis of the Chinese government, and on which its present existence mainly depends. All the demands can be summed up in one, for free intercourse between China and foreigners on an equal footing. But let it be also remembered, that whatever falls short of this stipulation will never satisfy the present claimants. The Rubicon once passed, no half-measure will be of any avail. It is natural to ask, how is this problem to be solved? We simply answer, take your lessons from the past, and shape, in strict accordance to experience, your future course. All agree that the measures hitherto adopted have not accomplished the end, and many will, with reason on their side, aver, that it would be much better if we could start afresh, and had not to contemplate the disasters of last year. With past experience for our guide, what is next to be done? The most expeditious way of cutting the Gordian knot would doubtless have been to lay an embargo upon the imperial grain-junks and the treasure-vessels. About 6,000 boats, each loaded with 1,000 to 2,000 peruls of rice, proceed annually from the southern provinces, on the great canal, to T'ien-tsin, and these same junks carry from 37 to 40 millions taels in pure sycee. To effect this end, however, our operations ought not to be directed to the Yang-tsze-keang, because these boats do not assemble there, but proceed in single file up the great canals; but we ought to look for them at their rendezvous. To accomplish this, we should want six iron steamboats, of the smallest draught, such as navigate the Indus and Hooghly, and to be in possession of T'ien-tsin from the beginning of August until the middle of October. By such a bold stroke, we would save much delay, much treasure, much bloodshed, and might avert a protracted war. It would be carrying on hostilities towards the most legitimate objects of our wrath, the Emperor's goods and chattels, and the great monarch is peculiarly sensitive upon these points. Slay a million of his subjects, take one hundred forts, burn all the war-junks, thus occasioning an enormous expense of human life, and the horror of destruction, but you will never make the Emperor so pliant as when you lay hold of his provisions and income for the next year.

"A second enterprise likely to lead to a satisfactory conclusion, would be a direct march upon Peking. The enterprise is grand, subject to many risks and dangers, but not much more perilous than an attack upon Canton. But there are three or four considerations that very strongly speak in favour of the adventure. The uppermost is, no doubt, the persuasion that it finally must come to this, or no peace can possibly be concluded, unless ratified at the gates of Peking. We may flatter ourselves that matters will take a different turn, that less bold measures might equally

serve, and imagine a hundred other things, which, however, change nothing in the real state of affairs. Make the trial for four or five years, and the conviction will nearly amount to a moral certainty, that, unless Peking is attacked, there can be no treaty. Of the minor expedients for hastening the settlement, we may mention as the principal, the occupation of the Yang-tsze-keang by our navy, a thing perhaps more difficult than it would at first appear. But there are large cities on its banks; there is the centre of all the inland communication; the river is, in fact, the heart-artery of China, and hence, is of paramount importance. In a commercial point of view, the reasons are still more urgent; and so long as we can keep this river open for our ships, China can never be shut against foreign intercourse. It is the key to the Celestial Empire, the grand inlet; and if no operations are carried on in its waters, the river ought at least to be surveyed as far as it is navigable. The cities whose occupation would most annoy the great Emperor would be Shang-hae and Loo-choo, in Keang-soo, Ning-po and Hang-choo, in Che-keang, and Fuh-chew and Amoy, in Fo-keen. A demonstration upon Lenou-tung, the patrimonial estate of the reigning family, would seriously alarm the court, and simultaneously made at a point nearest Moukden, when Peking is threatened, it would divide the forces and attention, and accelerate a good understanding. Of the islands most conveniently situated as a *point d'appui*, Chusan, notwithstanding all that has been said against it, holds still the first rank; as a permanent agricultural possession, Formosa is peerless; for a commercial colony, the above, or some spot between Amoy and Fuh-chew, holds out greater advantages than Hong-kong, but the commencement will be far more difficult. But there are other considerations that must weigh upon the negotiator, and one of the utmost importance is, that the trade should go on in the meanwhile. If Fuh-chew and Ning-po, however, are put under the same necessity as Canton to carry on the commercial intercourse, there will be no want of either teas or raw silk."

A letter from Macao, dated 23rd August, observes:—"There appears a very general impression in Canton, that the Chinese were induced to believe the payment of six millions of dollars to have been a final settlement of our demands, and that trade would gradually be allowed to fall back into the former system, and it seems very problematical whether the cabinet at Peking will be easily brought to accede to new and increased demands. Whether trade can be continued at Canton while hostilities are going on in other parts of the empire, we cannot pretend to foresee; but it seems probable that, although the recollection of the recent lesson given to the local authorities may keep them from overt acts of hostility for a while, they may be forced, by orders from the court, into measures which will result in closing the port here at no distant day. They had, indeed, a few days ago, commenced to block up a part of the river near Canton, and although the stockades have been removed, on the requisition of our authorities, the absence of the fleet may now, very likely, induce them to complete works, with the view of preventing men-of-war again getting near the city."

Cape of Good Hope.

The attention of the colony is strongly directed towards the establishment of a Representative Legislative Assembly, the opinion expressed by Lord John Russell upon colonial assemblies having, it is said, "acted like an electric fire in the minds of the colonists." At a meeting of the Cape Town Municipality, in Common Council, on the 23rd July, it was unanimously resolved, "That the expediency and necessity of a Representative Assembly has become so apparent, that no man who has paid attention to the working of the municipality, short as has been its operation, but must allow that the colony is fully fitted and ready for the boon of self-government, and which alone can develop the resources of the colony, as well for its own benefit and interest as that of the Home Government."

On the 24th August, a public meeting was held at Cape Town, when it was unanimously resolved, "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the form of government in which the representatives of the people have some share and responsibility is the most just, expedient, and beneficial to the people, and that there exists no reason

why this colony, comprising a population of 180,000, should be excluded from the pale of this principle; that the present system of our Colonial Government is ill-adapted to the wants of the colony, and that the form of a free representation by colonists from every part of the colony is best calculated fully to develop its commercial and agricultural resources, and to meet the wants so generally required for improving public works and roads throughout the same; that, from its geographical position and natural advantages, no colony offers a better field for the employment of British capital and labour than the Cape of Good Hope, and that, by assimilating our political institutions to those of Great Britain, we hold out a greater inducement to emigrants from the mother country."

In the discussions at this meeting, Mr. Ebdon, a member of the Legislative Council, stated, in respect of the measures adopted by the unofficial members, when, by a blunder (as subsequently appeared), their rights as members of the Council were impaired, that, at the time, "an attempt was made, he will not say by whom, to twist and torture into meaning a palpable error in the wording and construction of one of the sections of the royal instructions, whereby the liberty of debate was infringed, and the power of the Council neutralized, with the view of rendering the Council subservient to the will of the Governor."

The *Zuid Afrikaan* observes: "There seems no longer to exist a doubt as to the question of competency of the colonists for self-government. The question of slavery, which some years ago was raised as an objection, no longer exists; party feeling, which at one time convulsed our society, has happily died away; we hear no longer the discussion raised as to nationality or language; and we find those who formerly disagreed with the great mass of the people, as to the expediency of granting a representative assembly to this colony, now joining the standard to obtain that which is universally maintained to be the inherent right of every British subject."

Petitions to her Majesty and to Parliament have been forwarded to England.

An accidental supply of labour had been thrown into the Cape market by the wreck of the *Prince Rupert* (with emigrants for New Zealand), in Table Bay, which, as it was attended with suspicious circumstances, had furnished a matter of investigation for the magistrates.

The investigations of the missionaries, and the statements made by impartial persons, seem clearly to shew that the attack made by a *part* of the emigrant boers at Natal upon the Caffre chief N'Capaa, in December, 1840, on the ground of his having stolen their cattle and horses, was unjustifiable, inasmuch as N'Capaa was entirely innocent of the charge, and it is even said that the farmers knew that the cattle had been taken by Bushmen. The farmers on that occasion killed many of the Caffres, and carried off a large number of their cattle.

A writer on the frontier says: "I am aware that the policy of sending a British force to the Zimvooboo, for the protection of the native tribes from further attack of a similar character as that made upon N'Capaa, has been severely animadverted upon. Matters of policy are always matters of opinion. Now, as I am supposed to possess rather better means for obtaining information and forming a correct opinion as to the general effect of this measure on the safety of the colony and the welfare of the natives than almost any private individual residing on the border can have, I will, with your permission, state that, in my humble opinion, the sending of the expedition to the Zimvooboo was a measure of the very best character, and it would be difficult to say whether its policy or humanity is most to be praised. It tends to the security of our immediate border by its influence on the Caffres, and it has already favourably influenced public sentiment among the emigrant farmers at Natal; it has placed the shield of British protection over a large and powerful tribe (Faku's), who are the allies of the colony; and it was, perhaps, partly intended as a necessary step towards the accomplishment of an event greatly to be desired, being alike beneficial to the emigrant farmers, the inhabitants of our own colony, and to the native tribes at large—I mean, the peaceable establishment of the British rule at Port Natal."

DEBATE AT THE EAST-INDIA HOUSE.

East-India House, Nov. 17th.

A Special General Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock was this day held at the Company's house, Leadenhall Street, "To take into consideration

ADDRESSES OF CONGRATULATION TO THE QUEEN AND H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT, on the birth of a prince and heir apparent to the throne of these realms."

The minutes of the last General Court having been read,

The *Chairman* (George Lyall, Esq.) proceeded to open the business of the day by observing, that they were assembled on one of the most interesting occasions which could possibly cause them to meet together, namely, the birth of an heir to the throne of the British dominions. (*Hear, hear!*) The object of the meeting, as the proprietors had learned from the advertisement, was to consider of addresses of congratulation to the illustrious parents of the young prince; and he rejoiced in having the high gratification, as the official organ of the Court of Directors, of proposing an address to her Majesty the Queen, which should convey to their most gracious sovereign the hearty and sincere congratulations of the proprietors of that Court, upon an occasion most interesting to the feelings, and on an event most conducive to the happiness of all her Majesty's loyal subjects. (*Hear, hear!*) It was an occurrence which had diffused joy and gratitude throughout the land, and it was the more to be rejoiced at, because the birth of a prince and an heir-apparent to the throne of Britain was calculated to give additional security and stability to the glorious constitution of this country, over which the illustrious family from which her Majesty had descended had presided so long, so ably, so happily, and so beneficially. (*Hear, hear!*) Apart, however, from national considerations, it was impossible not to sympathise with our virtuous and accomplished Queen upon an event which might be said to crown the enjoyments of domestic life; and which, being attended with perils and fears that reminded us of the uncertainty of human existence, and of the transitory nature of all mortal bliss, was enhanced thereby, and made the more welcome subject of joy and thanksgiving by reason of a safe delivery from every danger and apprehension of danger. (*Hear, hear!*) He would not detain the Court longer, but would at once propose an address congratulating her Majesty upon this event, which was alike an accession to her Majesty's own happiness and that of her people. The address, which the clerk would read, he proposed should be adopted, signed, and sealed with the official seal of the Court, in the usual form, and presented to her Majesty by the *Chairman* and *Deputy Chairman*. (*Hear, hear!*)

The Clerk then read the following address:—

To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the East-India Company.

Most Gracious Sovereign: We, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the East-India Company, crave permission to present to your Majesty our sincere and fervent congratulations on the birth of a prince, destined, we devoutly hope, through a long and prosperous life, to enjoy the affections of your Majesty's people, and to add to the glory of the illustrious house to which he belongs. Great and universal is the joy called forth on the occasion, and most deeply do we participate in the feeling.

We pray that Divine Providence may ever watch over your Majesty and the Prince, and secure to both the enjoyment of every blessing. (*Hear, hear, hear!*)

The *Chairman*.—I beg leave to move that the Court do agree to the address which has just been read.

The *Deputy Chairman* (Sir J. L. Lushington) said that, in rising to second the adoption of the proposed address, it was quite unnecessary for him to add much to what had already been said by the hon. *Chairman*. Animated as all the members of that assembled Court were by a spirit of devoted loyalty and of affectionate and dutiful respect to their beloved Queen, they must hail with joy an event which was not only calculated to increase the comfort and happiness of her Majesty, but was fraught with benefit and lasting good to the country at large. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Weeding* said, an address proposed to congratulate the Sovereign upon the birth of a prince, and that prince the heir-apparent to the throne of this kingdom, would naturally and cordially be received and assented to by every Englishman who valued the constitution of his country. It required no rhetoric to persuade, no argu-

ments to enforce, his adoption of it. It came recommended to him by his love of country, by his respect and veneration for the Sovereign in the high station which she occupied, by his attachment to the institutions and to the welfare of his country. (*Hear!*) It would seem, then, to be superfluous and unnecessary to say a word upon the subject. The feelings of every one arose on the instant to adopt the proposition, almost without thought, certainly without deliberation. But the circumstance was peculiar and impressive. He hoped, therefore, that he might be permitted to indulge in a few observations upon the subject, if it were only to give expression to the joy which he felt, and to those pleasurable anticipations which arose in his mind whenever this happy event was considered. (*Hear!*) To foresee, to ensure, under the dispensation of Providence, a direct succession to the throne, so desirable for the public peace and welfare, must be at all times a source of much gratification; but to contemplate it under circumstances which promised peculiar benefit to the country, added greatly to the pleasure and the happiness derived from it. The prince, upon the occasion of whose birth the address was proposed, was the offspring of a youthful sovereign, destined, he hoped, to live very many years to be a blessing to the son whom she had borne, and to the country over which she ruled. (*Hear, hear!*) During this anticipated period, long as he hoped it would be, and eventful as it would probably be, looking at the age in which they lived, time and opportunity would be afforded to prepare the mind of the young prince for the important and arduous task of governing an empire. Brought up under the auspices of parents, illustrious parents, who were possessed of the highest social and domestic virtues, there would assuredly be instilled into the mind of the youth sound principles of thinking and of acting, which were the best preparative for the wisdom and exertions of the man. Those principles would be afterwards confirmed and enlarged by an acquaintance and intercourse with the noblemen and gentlemen of England; in their society, and from their example, he would learn the virtue of self-government before he was called upon to govern others; he would imbibe the spirit of English feeling, of honour, and of justice; he would learn to admire and to value the institutions of his country, its religion, its laws, and its freedom, before he was called upon to defend, to administer, and to maintain them. And when at length, in the course of nature, he succeeded to the throne, he would bring to his aid, in the fulfilment of good government, a thorough knowledge of the constitution of his country, and a devout and resolute determination to preserve it. (*Hear, hear!*) It was with views and anticipations such as these, the realization of which was brought within the range of all human probability by the birth of an heir-apparent, that he rejoiced exceedingly in the event; and he had taken the opportunity to give expression to the great pleasure which he felt on the occasion. He most heartily concurred in the address. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. Twining said, he would venture to delay the performance of that grateful act of duty and affection to their beloved Sovereign for a few moments; for, having upon many occasions of a somewhat similar kind to the present offered his humble congratulations to the throne, in accordance with like propositions from the chair, he hoped he should be allowed to express, from that side of the bar on which he stood, on this most auspicious occasion, his cordial and hearty concurrence in the sentiments expressed in the address, and by the Chairman, the Deputy Chairman, and the hon. proprietor who had preceded him. He desired to re-echo those sentiments in the same spirit which had dictated them; and he felt sure that such sentiments of loyalty and fidelity to the Crown had always and universally prevailed amongst the Proprietors of East-India Stock. (*Hear!*) Upon no occasion on which there had been any reference to the throne of these realms had there been any diversity of opinion amongst the members of that Court; but, on the contrary, an undeviating and ever ready concurrence in every thing that went to testify respect and attachment to the Crown and to that illustrious family which had now for so many years presided over the destinies of this great country (*hear, hear!*); and he had no doubt that they would continue to be actuated by the same loyal feelings. But upon no other occasion had they been so forcibly called upon to give expression to the joy and grati-

tude they experienced, as upon that of the birth of a prince and heir-apparent to the Crown—the happy event which had caused them to assemble together that day. He begged, therefore, to be permitted to declare the extreme gratification he enjoyed in raising his humble voice in support of the resolution which had emanated from the Chair. To those who, like himself, had long taken part in the proceedings of that hon. body whom he was now addressing, and who could not look forward to much longer time in which to participate in their proceedings, it must be a ground for confidence and joy to have witnessed that happy event, because it was one which bade fair to add strength and stability to the country over which the young prince, at some, he hoped distant, period, would be called to reign. (*Hear, hear!*) The peculiar circumstances of the times, as connected with that event, opened up to the contemplative mind the most brilliant prospects of future prosperity that could be imagined. Under the sway of the illustrious family from which her Majesty was descended, literature, science, morality, religion, and sound principles of liberality, had been—as they continued to be—most extensively diffused amongst mankind; and therefore the event which had now happened must be regarded as most auspicious in respect to the position of Britain in the world at large; and he trusted that its benign influence would extend to that part of the British empire in the East with which that Court was so peculiarly and intimately connected; so that, hereafter, the thoughts and wishes of the population there might become still more and more in unison with those of British subjects at home, and their feelings of attachment still more firmly fixed to this country, which it had for so long a period contributed to strengthen and enrich. (*Hear, hear!*) There was yet another thought which he would venture to utter. It was most gratifying to think that the hero of many battles, who was connected with India in early life, had been spared, through the blessing of Providence, to witness so important an event as the birth of an heir to the throne of realms which his valour had saved and won; and who, though triumphant in war, had always shewn himself the ardent promoter and supporter of peace. (*Hear, hear!*) He joined, then, with all sincerity in those congratulations which it was proposed should be conveyed to her Gracious Majesty the Queen upon an event which he believed would strengthen the country and increase the happiness of the people. (*Hear, hear!*)

The *Chairman* then put the motion, which was carried unanimously, and followed by loud acclamations.

The *Chairman* again rose, and said that, in proposing a similar address of congratulation to H. R. H. Prince Albert, he need not attempt to eulogize the virtues of that illustrious person. (*Hear, hear!*) He would, therefore, submit the following address:—

To H. R. H. the Prince Albert.

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, the East-India Company, approach your Royal Highness with the expression of our ardent congratulations on the happy occasion of her Majesty having given birth to a prince.

To the people of the British empire, not less than to your Royal Highness, this event affords cause of unbounded joy; and the prince, whose birth has crowned their hopes, will ever be regarded by them with profound and devoted attachment.

That her Majesty and your Royal Highness may, under the blessing of Divine Providence, long enjoy the happiness derived from this auspicious event, is our most sincere and fervent wish. (*Hear, hear!*)

The *Chairman* moved, that the Court agree to the address now read.

The *Deputy Chairman*, in seconding the adoption of the address, said, his Royal Highness Prince Albert had already, by his amiable disposition, his urbanity of manners, and the respect with which he regarded the institutions of the country, won the esteem of all her Majesty's loyal subjects. He trusted that the happy event upon which they were about to congratulate his Royal Highness would only be found to constitute a closer link of union between our youthful sovereign and his Royal Highness, and an additional tie upon the attachment of the subjects of our Sovereign. (*Hear, hear!*)

Mr. *Weeding*.—And, allow me to add, may he long live to enjoy the affection of our beloved Queen, and the esteem of her loyal people! (*Hear, hear!*)

The address was then carried unanimously, and with similar demonstrations of feeling as the former.

The Court then adjourned.

REGISTER.

Calcutta.

GOVERNMENT GENERAL ORDERS, &c.

EXTENSION OF FURLONGHS TO NEW SOUTH WALES.

Fort William, Sept. 26, 1841.—The Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to publish for general information the following paragraph of a letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors to the Governor in Council at Bombay, No. 42, dated 4th Aug. 1841, on the subject of the extension of furloughs to New South Wales, or any other of her Majesty's colonies; the rule therein laid down being applicable to all the presidencies:

Para. 2. "In future cases, when officers may be granted a furlough on sick certificate or on private affairs, to New South Wales or any other colony, we desire that they may be separately informed, that any applications which they may have occasion to prefer for extended leave are to be addressed to us in sufficient time to allow of their receiving our reply by the period when they should embark on their return, so as to ensure their arrival within the original term of furlough; that if the application is preferred on account of health, it should be supported by certificates from the medical staff officer, or other undoubted medical testimony on the spot, shewing that the applicants are then incapable from ill-health to return to the performance of military duty in India, and specifying the term for which they consider additional leave absolutely necessary for the recovery of the applicant's health; and that if the application is preferred on the ground of urgent private affairs, it will be required that the nature of those affairs should be specified, and that the necessity for his continued absence should be certified by his professional adviser on the spot."

SALARY OF OFFICERS.

Financial Department, Sept. 29, 1841.—Conformably with a rule prescribed by the Hon. the Court of Directors, the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council is pleased to determine, and to notify for general information, that no civil servant, or military servant holding a civil appointment, required by the exigencies of the service to discharge the duties of a second office, will be entitled to draw the salary of the two offices.

His Lordship in Council is pleased to exempt from the immediate operation of this rule, the officers holding the appointment of agent to the lieutenant-governor in the North-Western Provinces, and drawing a salary of Rs. 500 a month in that situation, in addition to the salary of their other civil appointment, and to except also the situation at certain stations of post-master,* held by the civil surgeon, who is separately remunerated for the former office.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS, &c.

July 6. Mr. F. B. Pearson to be an assistant under commissioner of Benares Division.

Sept. 15. Capt. G. N. Clarke, H.M. 62nd regt., to officiate as post-master at Hazareebaugh, during absence of Assist. Surg. E. Boulton on med. cert.

Lieut. H. M. Nation, assistant to commissioner for suppression of dacoity, to be vested with powers of joint magistrate in districts of Humeerpore and Banda, and the whole of Bundelcund.

18. Messrs. H. P. A. B. Riddell and W. Roberts, assistants to magistrate and collector of Agra and Mirzapore, respectively, to be vested with special powers described in Sec. 2. Reg. III. of 1821.

22. Mr. J. E. S. Lillie, writer, reported qualified for the public service, by proficiency in two of the native languages.

Messrs. R. J. Scott and George G. Balfour, writers, reported their arrival.

Mr. George Wyatt to be deputy collector in Zillah Benares.

23. Mr. A. H. Cocks to officiate as joint magistrate and deputy collector of Moradabad, during Mr. F. S. Head's deputation to Bijnore.

* Benares, Bundelkhund, Dehli, and Saugor.

27. Capt. R. Cornish, R.E.F., under authority to commissioner of Mysore, directed to take charge of Nagarjun.

28. Mr. J. E. S. Little to be an assistant to magistrate and collector of Tinsack.

Oct. 1. Civil Assist. Surg. J. Stokes to be post-master at Goruckpore.

Civil Assist. Surg. R. Marshall to be post-master at Futtypore.

3. Mr. C. A. Lushington, writer, reported qualified for the public service, by proficiency in two of the native languages.

Mr. C. Steer to officiate as magistrate as well as collector of Jessore.

Mr. C. Chapman to be a superintendent of survey of Zillah Patna.

Mr. A. Turnbull to officiate as magistrate of East Burdwan.

6. Mr. R. J. Scott to proceed to Kishnagur and prosecute his study of the oriental languages at that station, under Mr. J. Alexander.

Mr. J. W. Salmond relieved Mr. S. Garling from charge of Malacca Residency on 31st July last, and latter gentleman assumed charge of Panang Residency on 13th Aug. last.

11. Major R. Leech received political charge of Kelat-i-Ghidzie from Lieut. E. K. Elliot on the 7th Sept.

Capt. George Johnston, sub-assist. com. general, to take charge of duties of superintendent with the ex-Rajahs of Coorg and Sattarah.

12. Mr. J. F. M. Reid to be a judge of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and Nizamat Adawlut, v. Mr. D. C. Smyth dec.

Mr. J. Shaw to be a temporary judge of ditto ditto, v. Mr. Reid.

Mr. B. Golding to be civil and sessions judge of East Burdwan, v. Mr. Shaw.

Mr. H. B. Brownlow to be civil and sessions judge of Cuttack.

Mr. Wm. St. Q. Quintin to be additional judge of Behar.

Mr. R. J. Loughnan to be civil and sessions judge of Bhojpur.

Mr. J. J. Ward to be joint magistrate and deputy collector of the second grade, v. Mr. Chapman prom.

Mr. C. Lushington to be an assistant to magistrate and collector of Behar.

Lieut. J. R. Abbott to be a senior assistant to commissioner of Arracan, and to be stationed at Kyook Phyou, v. Capt. Lumsden dec.

Lieut. H. Hopkinson to be a junior assistant to do., and to be stationed at Akyab.

15. Mr. C. Beadon to be joint magistrate of Bhaugulpore, temporarily, for purpose of investigating a case of abstraction of money from the treasury of the collector of that district.

The appointment of Mr. James Grant, under date 17th Aug. last, to officiate as civil and sessions judge of Cuttack, cancelled at his own request.

Obtained leave of Absence, Furloughs, &c.—Sept. 7. Mr. C. D. Wilkins, for six weeks, on private affairs.—15. Mr. S. S. Brown, for three months, to Bombay or Calcutta, preparatory to obtaining leave to proceed to Europe on furl.—18. Mr. R. J. Taylor, for three months, on private affairs.—20. Capt. P. A. Reynolds, Thuggee department, for three months, to visit Calcutta, preparatory to applying for permission to return to Europe.—21. Mr. W. Vansittart, for two months.—24. Mr. W. Johnson, for one year, on med. cert.—25. Mr. J. R. Barnes, for twelve months, on med. cert., to visit the hills.—27. The Hon. H. B. Devereux, for nine months, on med. cert.—28. Mr. C. J. H. Graham, for two months, on med. cert.—Mr. A. C. Bidwell, for two months, on private affairs.—29. Mr. H. M. Parker, for two months.—Oct. 5. Mr. E. E. Woodcock, for three months, on med. cert.—11. Mr. H. Inglis, for six weeks, to presidency, on private affairs.—12. Mr. N. Smith, for one month, preparatory to his resigning the Hon. Company's service.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

Sept. 29. The Rev. John Spencer, assistant chaplain (arrived on 20th Sept.), to be attached to North-Western Provinces.

Obtained leave of Absence.—Sept. 22. The Rev. J. J. Tucker, for two months, preparatory to applying for furl. to Europe, on med. cert.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, &c.

Fort William, Sept. 22, 1841.—Infantry. Maj. John Graham to be lieut. col. from 17th Sept. 1841, vice Lieut. Col. (Brigadier) George Williamson dec.

2nd N.I. Ens. James Rattray to be lieut. from 18th Aug. 1841, vice Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) Thomas Bell dec.

30th N.I. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. Arch. Park to be capt. of a company, and Ens. L. P. Faddy to be lieut. from 6th Sept. 1841, in suc. to Capt. Alex. Hodges dec.

30th N.I. Capt. and Brev. Maj. James Munro to be maj. Lieut. and Brev. Asst. John N.S. Vol. 36 No. 124.

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Capt. R. S. Tickell to be capt. of a company, and Ens. R. J. Farre to be lieut., from 17th Sept. 1841, in suc. to Maj. John Graham prom.

Capt. Rowland Hill, 70th N.I., to maj. of brigade in Oude, vice Capt. A. Hodges dec.

Capt. Thomas Fisher, 48th N.I., officiating assist. adj. gen. of Dinapore division, to be commandant of 1st Assam Sebundy corps, vice Maj. W. Simonds transf. to invalid estab.

Capt. T. E. A. Napleton, 60th N.I., to be commandant of Bhagulpore Hill Rangers, vice Graham prom. to a lieut. colonely regimentally.

Brev. Col. Foster Walker, 4th N.I., temporarily employed on staff as a brigadier, to be a brigadier of 2nd class on the estab. from 17th inst., v. Williamson dec.

Capt. and Brev. Maj. William Maetier, 4th L.C., deputy judge advo. general, appointed to charge of Judge Advocate General's office, on departure from presidency of Maj. R. J. H. Birch.

Surg. William Duff permitted to retire from service of East India Company, on pension of his rank, from 15th Oct.

Capt. W. M. N. Sturt, assist. sec. to Government of India, military department, to officiate as deputy secretary, till arrival of Major Sanders.

Lieut. Joseph McCance, 65th N.I., to do duty with 1st Assam Sebundy Corps.

Cadet of Engineers, E. Haines, admitted on estab., and prom. to 2nd lieut.

Sept. 26.—Cadets of Infantry, C. B. G. Bacon, G. W. M. Hall, G. W. G. Green, S. J. Hire, M. R. Somerville, R. D. Macpherson, C. R. G. Douglas, F. W. Ripley, M. A. Garstin, and A. G. Nedham admitted on estab., and prom. to ensigns.

Mr. W. C. B. Eatwell admitted on estab., as an assist. surgeon.

Cornet A. P. C. Elliot, of the cavalry, to rank from 8th March, 1841.

Capt. James Abbott, of artillery, to be 2nd in command of Mhairwarrah Local Bat., vice Capt. J. Bartleman, and to be assistant to Capt. Dixon, the Superintendent of Mhairwarrah.

Brev. Capt. J. T. Geils, 60th N.I., late commandant of the Malwa Bheel Corps, placed at disposal of Commander-in-Chief.

Lieut. D. C. Shute, 19th N.I., appointed to Bundelcund Legion, v. Lieut. F. B. Wardroper, on leave to visit the presidency.

Capt. Birnie Browne, of artillery, having completed the survey on which he was engaged, placed at disposal of Commander-in-Chief.

Oct. 6.—17th N. I. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. F. W. Burroughs to be captain of a company, and Ens. H. Watson to be lieut. from 1st Oct. 1841, in suc. to Capt. and Brev. Maj. J. Hicks retired on pension of a colonel.

Lieut. John Barrett, 2nd Europ. Regt., to take rank of capt. by brev.

1st Lieut. John Gilmore, executive engineer of Jubbulpore division of public works, to officiate as superintendent of Burdwan and Benares roads, during absence on leave of Capt. C. P. B. Alcock.

Mr. A. P. C. Elliot re-admitted to the service as a cornet of cavalry.

Oct. 13.—63rd N. I. Ens. C. R. Woodhouse to be lieut. from 29th Sept. 1841, vice Lieut. and Brev. Capt. J. R. Lumsden dec.

Cadets of Infantry J. G. Lawrence, and H. W. H. Coxé admitted on estab., and prom. to ensigns.

Capt. W. P. Milner, 31st N.I., at present acting as assist. adj. gen. of the army, to officiate as assist. adj. general of division, during period Capt. Pensonby may be employed with the Troops in Afghanistan, or until further orders, vice Fisher.

Lieut. Robert Thompson, 34th N.I., permitted to resign Service of E. I. Company.

Oct. 15.—Infantry. Maj. Richard Home to be lieut. colonel, 73rd N. I., Capt. and Brev. Maj. Henry Carter to maj., Lieut. and Brev. Capt. Francis Thomas to be capt. of a company, and Ens. R. C. Lawrence to be lieut. from 26th Sept. 1841, in suc. to Lieut. Col. W. C. Denby dec.

Ens. F. J. Elsegood, 41st N.I., to do duty with 2nd Assam Sebundy Corps.

Capt. B. Bygrave, 5th N. I. and paymaster of native pensioners at Allahabad, to be paymaster at presidency and to Queen's troops, v. Maj. R. Home prom.

Sept. 15.—Lieut. S. J. Becher, 11th N.I.; to be adjutant of infantry to Bundelcund Legion, vice Lieut. J. C. Johnston resigned.

Oct. 4.—The service of Dr. G. G. Spilsbury, civil surgeon of Jubbulpore, placed, at his own request, at disposal of Com.-in-Chief, from 1st Nov. 1841.

Oct. 16.—Lieut. T. James, 21st N. I., to be 2nd in command of the Kotah Contingent.

Head-Quarters, Sept. 16, 1841.—Ens. H. T. Bartlett, 21st N.I., to do duty with 69th regt. at Berhampore, until arrival of his own corps at that station.

Sept. 17.—Unposted Ens. C. L. Montgomery to do duty with 69th N.I. at Berhampore, and directed to join.

5th L. C. Lieut. T. L. Harrington to be adj., v. Hamilton prom.

69th N. I. Lieut. G. O'B. Ottley, of 6th, to act as interp. and qu. master.

Capt. R. Hill, 70th N. I., to act as major of brigade in Oude, v. Hodges dec.; date 8th Sept.

Capt. P. S. Hamilton to continue to act as adj. to 5th L. C.

Assist. Surg. F. Anderson, M.D., 4th troop 1st brigade horse artillery, to continue at Khairwarrah in medical charge of the Bheel corps until further orders; date 28th Aug.

Assist. Surg. W. Pringle, M.D., on being relieved from medical duties of Darjeeling, directed to proceed to Mullye, and to afford medical aid to 56th N. I.

Sept. 20.—Cornet F. R. Tottenham, of 9th, at his own request removed to 7th L. C., as junior of his rank, and directed to join.

Unposted Cornet A. F. Willy posted to 9th L. C. at Kurnaul, and directed to join.

Sept. 21.—Col. (Lieut. Gen.) St. George Ashe (on furl.) removed from 8th to 46th N. I., and Col. W. Vincent (on furl.) from latter to former corps.

Sept. 22.—Lieut. Col. W. Pattle removed from 1st to 9th L. C., and Lieut. Col. R. Hawkes (on leave) from latter to former corps.

The undermentioned Ensigns posted to corps indicated:—F. McD. Gilbert to 2nd N. I., in Afghanistan; F. G. Thellusson to 29th do., at Lucknow; R. K. Gordon to 72nd do., at Allahabad, and under orders to proceed to Agra.

Unposted Ens. R. W. Chambers to do duty with 32nd N. I. at Dinapore.

Capt. J. B. D. Gahan, 25th N. I., to act as major of brigade at Ferozepore, during absence, on leave, of Capt. F. Knyvett.

Ens. H. Watson to act as adj. to 17th N. I., during absence, on detached employment, of Brev. Capt. F. W. Burroughs.

Assist. Surg. C. A. Elderton, doing duty with H. M.'s 16th Lancers, to proceed to Kurnaul, and report himself to the Superintending Surgeon.

Assist. Surg. J. H. Jones to do duty with H. M.'s 3rd L. Drags.

Assist. Surg. F. R. Cardew, M.D., 27th N. I., app. to medical charge of invalids of the season, under orders to proceed from Afghanistan to the provinces; and Assist. Surg. T. Thomson, M.D., doing duty with H. M.'s 44th Ft., to proceed to Ghuznee, and assume medical charge of 27th N. I.; date 28th Aug.

Lieut. Interp. and Qu. Mast. Thomas Spankie, B.A., of 48th N. I., app. to station staff at Allyghur, from 26th March last.

Sept. 24.—Ens. R. Unwin, 16th N. I., to proceed to Ferozepore, and to do duty until further orders.

Sept. 27.—Lieut. Col. M. C. Webber removed from 19th to 34th N. I., and Lieut. Col. J. Anderson (proceeding on leave) from latter to former corps.

Sept. 28.—Assist. Surg. C. A. Elderton to do duty with H. M.'s 3rd Buffs at Kurnaul.

Sept. 29.—The following removals and postings of Lieut. Colonels made:—Lieut. Col. A. Spiers (on staff employ) from 7th to 58th N. I.; A. Harvey (on leave) from 65th to 7th do.; J. Graham (new prom.) to 65th do.

Assist. Surg. W. Martin, attached to H. M.'s 62nd Regt., to proceed to division head-quarters, and to assume medical charge of 32nd N. I.; date Dinapore, 16th Sept.

Returned to duty, from Europe.—Sept. 22. Lieut. R. M. Franklin, 40th N. I.; Cornet H. R. Grindley, 6th L. C.; Lieut. C. R. Larkins, 20th N. I.—26. Col. Wm. Vincent, 8th N. I.; Brev. Capt. F. Raleigh, 1st N. I.; Capt. C. H. Thomas, 11th N. I.—Oct. 13. Capt. H. Patch, 73rd N. I.

FURLONGHS.

To Cape and Australia.—Oct. 9. Assist. Surg. A. McD. Stuart, for two years, for health.

To Bombay and Egypt.—Oct. 4. Surg. N. Morgan, for 18 months, on med. cert. (instead of former leave to Europe).

To visit Presidency.—Sept. 22. Brigadier G. H. Paul, from 31st Oct. to 30th April, 1842, preparatory to applying for furl. to Europe on private affairs.—Lieut. Col. R. Hawkes, 1st L. C., from 1st Oct. to 1st March, 1842, on med. cert., preparatory to applying for furl.—Lieut. Col. W. Burroughs, 29th N. I., from 28th Oct. to 20th Jan. 1842, on private affairs.—Lieut. Col. T. Wardlaw, 45th N. I., from 5th Dec. to 5th March, 1842, preparatory to retiring from the service.—Lieut. F. B. Wardroper, 25th N. I., for four months, preparatory to applying for leave to Europe.

—Oct. 11. Capt. T. D. Carpenter, superintendent with ex-Rajahs of Coorg and Satarah, from 10th Nov. to 31st Jan. 1841, on private affairs.

To Bombay.—Sept. 22. Brev. Capt. Peter Innes, 14th N.I., from 10th Nov. 1841, to 10th April, 1842, preparatory to applying for leave to Europe.—Oct. 6. Lieut. E. K. Elliot, 43rd N.I., for six months, on med. cert.

To Mussoorie.—Sept. 27. Capt. T. Hutton, 37th N. I., in extension, to remain till 10th Nov. 1842, on med. cert.

Obtained leave of Absence.—Sept. 22. Capt. J. D. D. Bean, 23rd N.I., from 15th Oct. to 15th April, 1842, on med. cert.

SHIPPING.

Arrivals at Kedgee.

SEPT. 18. *Braemar*, from Bussorah, Bombay, and Madras; *Courier*, from Marseilles and Mauritius; *Alderman Thompson*, from Glasgow; *Pomona*, from Newcastle; *Symmetry*, from the Mauritius; *Fyzell Curree*, from Bombay and Aleppee.—19. *Hydroos*, from Cannanore; *Louisa*, from Singapore; *Gentoo*, from Boston.—20. *Northumberland*, from London and Madras.—21. *Owen Glendower*, from Portsmouth and Madras; *Amazon*, from Mauritius and Madras; *Futty Salam*, from Muscat and Aleppee.—24. *Seymour*, from London; *Buccaneer*, from Moulmein.—26. *Waterloo*, from Coringa and Bimlipatam.—27. *Hereford*, from Rio de Janeiro; *Ellen*, from Bristol and Lunelley.—28. *Highlander*, from Penang.—29. *Water Witch*, from China and Singapore; *Futtay Rohomon*, from Bombay.—OCT. 1. *Victor*, from Mauritius; *Orissa*, from Balasore.—2. *Stephen Rowan Crawford*, from Moulmein; *Bangalore*, from Bombay.—4. *Malcolm*, from London and Madras.—5. *Col. Burney*, from Rangoon; *Georgia*, from Newcastle; *Jesse*, from Penang; *Atist Rohoman*, from Muscat; *H. C. Steamer Ganges*, from Rangoon and Moulmein.—6. *Seringapatam*, from London; *Arethusa*, from Madras; *Loddiana*, from Moulmein; *Minerva*, from do.; *Abassy*, from Muscat and Aleppee; *Cabross*, from Muscat; *Fattal Mobarruck*, from Muscat.—7. *Harlequin*, from China and Singapore.—10. *Norfolk*, from London; *Salazes*, from Sydney.—17. *Jhangere*, from Rangoon.—20. *Bellone*, from Bourbon.

Departures from Saugor.

SEPT. 17. *Susan*, for London.—23. *Canopus*, for China; *Hannah*, for Mauritius; *Drongan*, for Bombay.—24. *Benares*, for Bencoolen; *Fleetwood*, for Mauritius; *Mary Hartley*, for Cape of Good Hope; *Ann Ranken*, for Mauritius; *Pilgrim*, for Liverpool; *Akbar*, for Mauritius; *Arcturus*, for London.—25. *Solomon Shaw*, for —; *Semillante*, for Bombay; *Amherst*, for Khyouk Phoo; *James Gibbon*, for Mauritius; *Algeria*, for Singapore; *Dido*, for Singapore.—26. *Weraff*, for Singapore; *Bilton*, for London.—OCT. 1. *Flowers of Ugie*, for Bombay; *Mary Somerville*, for Mauritius; *Mary Mitcheson*, for London; *Suffren*, for Bourbon; *H. M. S. Champion*, for Swan River; *Euphrates*, for —; *Swallow*, for Mauritius; *Colambus*, for London; *Bohvar*, for London.—2. *Chusan*, for —; *Lady Nugent*, for Mauritius; *Butehire*, for Madras; *Marcombie*, for Bourbon; *Faize Robanny*, for Bombay; *Rajasthan*, for London.—5. *Patriot Queen*, for Liverpool.—6. *Hamilton Ross*, for Cape of Good Hope.—7. *Medicia*, for —; *Duncan*, for Liverpool.—9. *Maingay*; *John Hepburne*; *Briton*; *Amelia*.—10. *Francis Honore*.—11. *Princess Royal*.—12. *Cleopatra*; *Kilblain*; *Helen*; *Mary Ray*.—13. *Kyle*; *Nestor*.—14. *Tyrer*; *Soobrow*; *General Harrison*; *Mary Ann*.—15. *Union*.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

DEATHS.

- July 31. At Kurnaul, the lady of Dr. Henderson, 3rd L. Dr., of a son.
 Aug. 8. At Tandour, the lady of Capt. James Cautley, 8th Cavalry, of a son.
 31. At Mhow, the lady of D. Davies, Esq., assist. surg. 7th N. I., of a daughter.
 — At Mhow, the lady of Capt. J. Kilner, Engineers, of a daughter.
 Sept. 1. At Khyouk Phoo, the lady of Capt. J. R. Lumsden, 63rd N. I., of a daughter.
 3. At Chunar, the lady of R. Brown, Esq., garrison surgeon, of a daughter.
 4. At Agra, the wife of R. Lloyd, Esq., of a daughter.
 5. At Dibrughur, the lady of Capt. Percy Eld, of a daughter.
 — At Mirzapore, the lady of Wm. Gordon, Esq., civil surgeon, of a son.
 8. At Kurnaul, the lady of Capt. Yesbury, 3rd L. Drags., of a son.
 12. At Calcutta, the wife of A. C. Gregory, Esq., of a daughter.
 — At Simla, the lady of the Rev. A. B. Spry, B.A., of a son.
 13. At Agra, Mrs. Joseph Morgan, senior, of a son.
 — At Mussoorie, the lady of Lieut. R. B. Smith, Engineers, of a daughter, still-born.

13. At Akyab, the lady of Lieut. J. R. Abbott, 12th N. I., of a daughter.
14. At Meerut, the lady of Lieut. G. A. Fisher, of a daughter, still-born.
17. At Patna, the lady of S. Mackintosh, Esq., Government College, of a daughter.
18. At Simlah, the lady of Capt. J. T. Boileau, Engineers, of a daughter.
- At Allygurh, the wife of Mr. William Conner, of a son.
- At Ballasore, the lady of W. S. Dicken, Esq., civil surgeon, of a son.
19. At Secrole, Benares, the lady of C. J. H. Perreau, Esq., adjt. 58th N. I., of a son.
- At Dum-Dum, the lady of Capt. E. Buckle, artillery, of a son.
20. At Calcutta, the lady of Major H. Carter, 73rd N. I., of a son.
- At Indore, the lady of Capt. William Riddell, 60th B. N. I., and assist. gen. supt. for suppression of dacoity in Malwa, of a daughter.
21. At Calcutta, Mrs. George Downs, of a daughter.
- At Calcutta, the lady of Wm. Anderson, Esq., of a daughter.
- In Chowringhee, the lady of H. G. French, Esq., of a son.
- At Chandernagore, the lady of Capt. W. Y. Woodhouse, of a son.
22. At Calcutta, the lady of Major J. H. Simmonds, of a son.
- At Calcutta, Mrs. Thompson, of a son.
23. At Calcutta, the wife of Mr. J. Harvey, of a son.
- At Calcutta, Mrs. C. M. Latour, of a son.
- At Calcutta, the wife of Mr. H. G. Statham, of a son.
24. At Nowgong, Assam, the lady of Capt. J. T. Gordon, of a daughter.
27. At Spence's, the lady of Charles Lyall, Esq., of a daughter.
- At Calcutta, the lady of H. V. Bayley, Esq., C. S., of a son, since dead.
- At Calcutta, Mrs. Henry Adams, of a daughter.
- At Calcutta, Mrs. W. B. Carbery, of a daughter.
28. At Cossipore, the lady of Wm. Haworth, Esq., of a daughter.
- At Sultanpore, the lady of J. B. Clapperton, Esq., surg., 6th L. C., of a daughter.
29. At Calcutta, the lady of J. R. Colvin, Esq., of a daughter.
- At Ghazepore, the lady of T. P. Marten, Esq., B. C. S., of a daughter.
- At Nussersabad, the lady of Capt. C. Douglas, 14th N. I., of a daughter.
30. At Gwalior, the lady of Lieut. C. P. Carrapiet, of a son and heir.
- At Dinapore, the lady of Lieut. R. Nicholson, of H. M's Fusiliers, of a daughter.
- Oct. 2. At Calcutta, Mrs. W. T. Morgan, of a son.
- At Calcutta, the lady of R. M. Thomas, Esq., of a son.
- At Calcutta, Mrs. John Wallace, of a son.
3. At Calcutta, Mrs. M. Payne, of a son.
4. At Calcutta, the lady of Capt. C. R. Smith, of a daughter.
- At Buxar, the lady of Capt. Moyle Sherer, of a daughter.
5. At Barrackpore, Mrs. J. C. Robertson, of a daughter.
- At Meerut, the lady of Lieut.-Col. A. F. Richmond, 33rd N. I., of a daughter.
7. At Rampoor Bauleah, the lady of C. G. Udny, Esq., civil service, of a son.
9. At Calcutta, the lady of F. Millett, Esq., C. S., of a daughter, since dead.
10. At Nohatta, Jessore, the lady of Mr. E. E. Dubus, jun., of a son.
- At Loodiana, the lady of Lieut. J. Hunter, 53rd N. I., of a daughter.
- At Kidderpore, Mrs. J. Leech, of a son.
- At Bellwa, near Bauleah, the lady of D. M. Logan, Esq., of a son.
11. At Calcutta, Mrs. P. Swaries, of a son.
- At Ghazepore, the lady of Capt. A. T. A. Wilson, Europ. Regt., of a son.
12. At Calcutta, the lady of Major N. Penny, commanding at Sabatoo, of a son.
- At Calcutta, the wife of Mr. J. M. Gaumisse, of a daughter.
13. At Mhow, the lady of Lieut. and Adjt. C. Manger, 17th N. I., of a son.
14. At Calcutta, the wife of Mr. A. McMahon, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

- Aug. 24. At Allahabad, Mr. S. E. Mumford, to Miss Elizabeth Ormond.
29. At Calcutta, J. W. Urquhart, Esq., Accountant, Agra Bank, to Christina, daughter of the late Rev. D. Inglis Manse, of Lochlee, Scotland.
- Sept. 4. At Cawnpore, Mr. Robert Cummins, to Miss Helen Jennings.
- At Simla, Arthur Mitford Becher, Esq., D.A.Q.M.G., to Frances Anne, third daughter of the late Capt. M. W. Ford.
9. At Nussersabad, Brev. Capt. John Ewart, interpreter and quarter-master, 55th N. I., to Emma Sophia, daughter of the late T. B. Fooks, Esq.
10. At Dacca, Henry W. Clark, Esq., to Miss E. Partridge.

11. At Gowhatty, Assam, Capt. Wemyss, 45th N. I., and principal assistant commanding N. E. F., to Miss Helen Reily.

13. At Bareilly, Capt. G. R. P. Bercher, 4th N. I., to Phoebe Letitia Cecilia, eldest daughter of H. J. F. Berkeley, Esq., P.S.A.

16. At Calcutta, Mr. James Joshua Lumsden, to Miss Mary Ann Roch.

21. At Calcutta, Philip Russell Moss, Esq., to Ann Matilda, daughter of Stephen Read, Esq., H. C. Marine Service.

25. At Dinapore, Lieut. C. S. Edmunds, 70th N. I., to Eliza Anne, daughter of the late Capt. Thomas Ward, of the Bengal army.

— At Cawnpore, Capt. Wilkie, 4th N. I., Acting Assistant to the President of Lucknow, to Emily, daughter of the late Wm. Bishop, Esq.

Oct. 5. At Cuttack, Frederick Harris, Esq., 6th M. N. I., to Louisa Jane, second daughter of the late Lieut. Col. John Hunter, Bengal Army.

11. At Calcutta, J. C. Johnson, Esq., of Furneah, to Mary, third daughter of the late Capt. J. Johnston, supt. of the Stud at Hadjipore.

14. At Calcutta, Charles, eldest son of the late Major Charles Porteous, Bengal estab., to Eliza Mary, relict of the late Dr. Wm. Stewart.

DEATHS.

Aug. 26. Near Moostung, in Beloochistan, Lieut. F. Cuerton, 21st N. I.

— At Calcutta, Mrs. Heming, relict of Lieut. Heming, R. N.

Sept. 1. At Chandernagore, the wife of Mr. J. G. Vossema, aged 17.

5. At Lucknow, Capt. Alexander Hodges, 29th B. N. I.

— At Calcutta, Joseph Tannin, Esq., indigo broker, aged 55.

9. At Delhi, Mr. W. Staines, aged 59.

11. At Contai, of three days' fever, in his 46th year, John Henry Barlow, Esq., salt agent at Hidjellee, eldest surviving son of Sir George H. Barlow, Bart.

14. At Benares, Alex. Tweedie, Esq., assist. surgeon Bengal medical service.

15. At Allahabad, Mary, wife of Mr. William Johnson, sudder dewanny office.

16. At Calcutta, Mr. C. S. Gaumisse, aged 45.

18. At Calcutta, Agnes, wife of Mr. W. H. Jones, of Mozufferpore.

— At Calcutta, John Statham, master in the H. C.'s marine, aged 41.

22. At Calcutta, Alfred Ward, Esq., commander of the ship *George the Fourth*, aged 32.

26. At Simla, Colonel W. C. Denby, of the Bengal Army.

— At Calcutta, Mrs. Elizabeth De Rozario, aged 70.

27. At Calcutta, Mr. W. A. Bowers, aged 27.

29. At Calcutta, Mrs. Sarah Smitherat, aged 42.

Oct. 1. At Calcutta, on board the *Northumberland*, of cholera, Mr. George Cook, third officer, aged 20.

2. Drowned, Mr. George Skeer, of the ship *Orestes*, aged about 30.

6. At Calcutta, Edward Knubley, Esq., aged 21.

14. At Kidderpore, Lydia Esther, relict of John Davies, Esq., of Bristol.

15. At Calcutta, Mr. T. Suard, assistant marine board office.

Lately. At Arrakan, from the bite of a snake, whilst bathing, Capt. Lumsden, senior assistant to the commissioner of Arrakan.

— At Candahar, Capt. Bell, 2nd Regt. N. I.

Madras.

GOVERNMENT GENERAL ORDERS, &c.

THE "GOLCONDA" TRANSPORT.

Fort St. George, Sept. 29, 1841.—The length of time which had elapsed since any certain intelligence had been received of the transport *Golconda*, precluding all hope that the slightest chance existed of her safety, inquiries have been instituted with the view of ascertaining the fate of the vessel. The Right Hon. the Governor in Council laments to have to announce that, from the accounts given by the commander of the transport *Thetis*, who last saw the *Golconda* on 10th Sept. 1840, steering out of the straits towards the entrance of the China Seas, on which course he followed on the 13th, there appears to be no doubt that the *Golconda* foundered in the China Seas between the 22nd and 24th of that month, in a typhoon, which was on the latter day at the extreme height of its violence, and that all on board have perished.

The date to be assigned to the casualties arising out of this melancholy occurrence is the 24th Sept. 1840, from which day the officers and men of the 37th regt. N.I., and other details, who were embarked on board the transport *Gokonda*, will be struck off the strength of the Madras army.

FULL BATTAL TO THE KURNUL FIELD FORCE.

Fort St. George, Oct. 1, 1841.—The Right Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to publish the following extract of a letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors, dated the 4th ultimo, No. 8 of 1841, sanctioning a donation of two months' full batta to the troops and authorized public followers composing the late Kurnool Field Force, under the command of Maj. Gen. Wilson, C.B.:

"Having taken into our consideration the good conduct of the troops composing the Kurnool Field Force, under the command of Maj. Gen. Wilson, C.B., we have resolved to present to that force a donation of two months' full batta of their regimental rank, to be defrayed out of the value of the stores and other property found as sent to Kurnool and Zorapore. You will pay this amount accordingly, deducting from those who have shared in the Zorapore distribution the amount of their respective shares. II. M. Should it happen that in any rank the Zorapore distribution exceeds the amount of two months' full batta, it is not our intention to require the refund of the difference. The batta of the Major General in command of the force will be adjusted upon the principle acted upon in paying the donation to major generals employed in the war in Ava."

2. The rates of batta to the different Europeans and natives will be governed by those in force at the period of the field operations in 1839, and will be paid upon abstracts to be drawn by officers in command of troops or companies, and heads of Arracan departments, under the counter-signature of those in superior command. Abstracts will be submitted through paymasters of stations to Fort St. George for audit, prior to payment.

3. *Temporary establishments, or followers hired for the service, are declared not entitled to the donation.*

MOVEMENTS OF CORPS.

Fort St. George, Oct. 19, 1841.—The following movements and change in the destination of corps are ordered, viz.—2nd Regt. N.I., from Madras to Moulmein; 3rd or P.L.I., from Secunderabad to Bellary; 4th Regt. N.I., from Bellary to Madras.

The 14th regt. Madras N.I. has been ordered by the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council from Midnapore to Moulmein.

GENERAL COURT MARTIAL.

ASSIST. SURG. FRASER, M.D.

Head-Quarters, Fort St. George, May 27, 1841.—At a General Court-Martial held at Fort St. George, on the 10th May, 1841, Assist. Surg. G. R. Fraser, M.D., of H.M. 57th regt. of Foot, was arraigned upon the following charges:—

1st Charge.—For conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, in the following instances:

1st Instance. In having at Madras, on the 12th April, 1841, neglected his duty by failing to notify to me, the surgeon of the regt., his having furnished a certificate stating that Lieut. E. A. T. Lynch, of H.M. 57th regt., was incapable from sickness of the performance of his duty, by which means the name of the said Lieut. Lynch was incorrectly omitted in the regimental sick report; such conduct on the part of Assist. Surg. Fraser being in neglect of repeated orders given to him by me on the subject of such certificate.

2nd Instance. In having at the same place, on the 14th of the same month of the same year, neglected his duty by failing to notify to me, the surgeon of his regt., his having furnished a certificate reporting the aforesaid Lieut. Lynch as fit for duty, in neglect of my repeated orders to him, Assist. Surg. Fraser, on the subject of such certificate.

